

PORTRAITS
OF
Illustrious Personages
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM
AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY
AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MI'MOIRS
OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY
EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F. S. A.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HARDING AND LEPARD.

1835.

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KING EDWARD THE SIXTH,

THE son of Henry the Eighth by Jane Seymour, was born at Hampton Court on the 12th of October, 1537, and died at Greenwich on the sixth of July, 1553.

The annals of this Prince present little more to our view than the strange events which attended the struggle between Seymour and Dudley for the possession of his person and authority. The bloody war with Scotland, and the dangerous insurrections which succeeded at home, occupied the ardent minds and employed the talents of those chiefs during the first two years of his reign ; but the return of national peace gave birth to the bitterest discord between them ; and their wisdom and bravery, which in the late public exigencies had shone resplendently in the council and in the field, presently sank into the contracted cunning and petty malice of factious politicians. The Protector sought to intrench himself in the strong hold of popular favour, and was perhaps the first English nobleman who endeavoured to derive power or security from that source : his antagonist, too proud and too artful to engage in an untried scheme, humiliating in its progress and uncertain in its event, threw himself into the arms of a body of discontented Nobles, lamenting the fallen dignity of the Crown, and the tarnished honour of their order. He proved successful : the Protector was accused of High Treason, and suffered on the scaffold, and the young King was transferred to Dudley, together with the regal power.

These circumstances, well known as they are, will be found to throw a new lustre on Edward's character. In this convulsed time, so adverse to every sort of improvement either in the morals, or less important accomplishments of the youthful Prince ; under

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the disadvantages of an irregular education, a slighted authority, and a sickly constitution ; he made himself master of the most eminent qualifications. With an almost critical knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, he understood and conversed in French, Spanish and Italian. He was well read in natural philosophy, astronomy, and logic. He imitated his father in searching into the conduct of public men in every part of his dominions, and kept a register in which he wrote the characters of such persons, even to the rank of Justices of the Peace. He was well-informed of the value and exchange of money. He is said to have been master of the theory of military arts, especially fortification ; and was acquainted with all the ports in England, France, and Scotland, their depth of water, and their channels. His journal, recording the most material transactions of his reign from its very commencement, the original of which, written by his own hand, remains in the Cotton Library, proves a thirst for the knowledge not only of political affairs at home and of foreign relations, but of the laws of his realm, even to municipal and domestic regulations comparatively insignificant, which, at his age, was truly surprising. "This child," says the famous Cardan, who frequently conversed with him, "was so bred, had such parts, was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man ; and in him was such an attempt of Nature, that not only England but the world had reason to lament his being so early snatched away."

With these great endowments, which too frequently produce haughty and ungracious manners, we find Edward mild, patient, beneficent, sincere, and affable ; free from all the faults, and uniting all the perfections, of the sovereigns of his family who preceded or followed him : courageous and steady, but humane and just ; bountiful, without profusion ; pious, without bigotry ; graced with a dignified simplicity of conduct in common affairs, which suited his rank as well as his years ; and artlessly obeying the impulses of his perfect mind, in assuming, as occasions required,

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the majesty of the Monarch, the gravity of the statesman, and the familiarity of the gentleman.

Such is the account invariably given of Edward the Sixth; derived from no blind respect for the memory of his father, whose death relieved his people from the scourge of tyranny; without hope of reward from himself, whose person never promised manhood; with no view of paying court to his successor, who abhorred him as an heretic, or to Elizabeth, whose title to the throne he had been in his dying moments persuaded to deny; but dictated solely by a just admiration of the charming qualities which so wonderfully distinguished him, and perfectly free from those motives to a base partiality, which too often guide the biographer's pen when he treats of the characters of Princes. Concerning his person, Sir John Hayward informs us that "he was in body beautiful; of a sweet aspect, and especially in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry liveliness and lustre in them."—This description is fully justified by the present copy of his portrait.

The Journal however kept by this regal child, which has been already slightly mentioned, is so highly illustrative of important parts of his character, and corroborates in so many instances the reports which we have derived from his eulogists, that it would be blameable to suffer these notices of him to go forth unaccompanied by a specimen at least of a document so extraordinary. We will take for this purpose, without any care of selection, his entries for the months of July and August, 1551, made when he was in his fourteenth year.

JULY.

"1. Whereas certain Flemish ships, twelve sail in all, six tall men of war, looking for eighteen more men of war, went to Diep, as it was thought, to take Monsieur le Mareschal by the way, order was given that six ships, being before prepared, with four pinnaces and a brigandine, should go, both to conduct him, and also to defend if any thing should be attempted against England

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by carrying over the Lady Mary.—2. A brigandine sent to Diep, to give knowledge to Monsieur le Mareschal of the Flemings coming, to whom all the Flemings vailed their bonnet. Also the French Ambassador was advertized, who answered that he thought him sure enough when he came into our streams, terming it so.—2. There was a proclamation signed for shortening the fall of the money to that day, in which it should be proclaimed and devised that it should be in all places of the realm within one day proclaimed.—3. The Lord Clinton and Cobham was appointed to meet the French at Gravesend, and so to convey him to Duresme Place, where he should lie.—4. I was banqueted by the Lord Clinton at Deptford, where I saw the Primrose and the Mary Willoughby launched. The Frenchmen landed at Rye, as some thought for fear of the Flemings, lying at the Land's End, chiefly because they saw our ships were let by the wind that they could not come out.—6. Sir Peter Meutas, at Dover, was commanded to come to Rye, to meet Monsieur le Mareschal, who so did; and after he had delivered my letters, written with mine own hand, and made my recommendations, he took order for horses and carts for Monsieur le Mareschal, in which he made such provision as was possible to be for the sudden.—7. Monsieur le Mareschal set forth from Rye, and in his journey Mr. Culpepper, and divers other gentlemen, and their men, to the number of 1000 Horse, well furnished, met him, and so brought him to Maidstone that night.—7. Removing to Westminster.—8. Monsieur le Mareschal came to Mr. Baker's, where he was well feasted and banqueted.—9. The same came to my Lord Cobham's to dinner, and at night to Gravesend. Proclamation was made that a testourn should go at 9^d, and a groat at 3^d, in all places of the realm at once. At this time came the sweat into London, which was more vehement than the old sweat; for if one took cold he died within three hours; and if he escaped it held him but nine hours, or ten at the most: also if he slept the first six hours, as he should be very desirous to do, then he

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roved, and should die roving.—11. It grew so much; for in London the 10th day there died 100 in the liberties, and this day 120; and also one of my gentlemen, another of my grooms, fell sick and died; that I removed to Hampton Court, with very few with me. The same night came the Mareschal, who was saluted with all my ships being in the Thames, fifty and odd, all with shot well furnished, and so with the ordnance of the Tower. He was met by the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, with forty gentlemen, at Gravesend, and so brought to Duresme Place.—13. Because of the infection at London he came this day to Richmond, where he lay, with a great band of gentlemen, at least 400, as it was by divers esteemed, where that night he hunted.”

“July 14. He came to me at Hampton Court at nine of the clock, being met by the Duke of Somerset at the wall-end, and so conveyed first to me; where, after his Master’s recommendations and letters, he went to his chamber on the Queen’s side, all hanged with cloth of Arras, and so was the hall, and all my lodging. He dined with me also. After dinner, being brought into an inner chamber, he told me he was come, not only for delivery of the Order, but also for to declare the great friendship the King his master bore me, which he desired I would think to be such to me as a father beareth to a son, or brother to brother; and although there were divers persuasions, as he thought, to dissuade me from the King his master’s friendship, and witless men made divers rumours, yet he trusted I would not believe them: furthermore, that as good ministers on the frontiers do great good, so ill much harm; for which cause he desired no innovation should be made on things had been so long in controversy by hand-strokes, but rather by commissioners’ talk. I answered him that I thanked him for his order, and also his love, &c. and I would shew love in all points. For rumours, they were not always to be believed; and that I did sometime provide for the worst, but never did any harm upon their hearing. For Ministers, I said, I would rather appease these controversies with

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words than do any thing by force. So after, he was conveyed to Richmond again.—17. He came to present the Order of Monsieur Michael, where, after with ceremonies accustomed he had put on the garments, he and Monsieur Gye, likewise of the Order, came, one at my right hand, the other at my left, to the Chapel; where, after the Communion celebrated, each of them kissed my cheek. After that they dined with me, and talked after dinner, and saw some pastime, and so went home again.”

“18. A proclamation made against regraters and forestallers, and the words of the statute recited, with the punishment of the offenders. Also letters were sent to all officers and sheriffs for the executing thereof.—19. Another proclamation made for punishment of them that would blow rumours of abasing and enhancing of the coin, to make things dear withal. The same night Monsieur le Mareschal St. André supped with me: after supper saw a dozen courses; and, after, I came, and made me ready.—20, the next morning, he came to me to mine arraying, and saw my bedchamber, and went a hunting with hounds, and saw me shoot, and saw all my guards shoot together. He dined with me; heard me play on the lute; ride; came to me to my study; supped with me; and so departed to Richmond.—19. The Scots sent an Ambassador hither for receiving the treaty, sealed with the Great Seal of England, which was delivered him. Also I sent Sir Thomas Chaloner, clerk of my council, to have the seal of them, for confirmation of the last treaty, at Northampton.—17. This day my Lord Marquess and the commissioners coming to treat of the marriage, offered, by later instructions, 600'000 crowns; after, 400'000^l; and so departed for an hour. Then, seeing they could get no better, came to the French offer of 200'000 crownes, half to be paid at the marriage, half six months after that. Then the French agreed that her dote should be but 10'000 marks of lawful money of England. Thirdly, it was agreed that if I died she should not have the dote, saying they did that for friendship's sake, without precedent.—19. The

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Lord Marquess having received and delivered again the treaty, sealed, took his leave, and so did all the rest. At this time there was a bickering at Parma between the French and the Papists; for Monsieur de Thermes, Petro Strozzi, and Fontivello, with divers other gentlemen, to the number of thirty, with fifteen hundred soldiers, entered Parma. Gonzaga, with the Emperor's and Pope's band, lay near the town. The French made sallies, and overcame, slaying the Prince of Macedonia, and the Signor Baptista, the Popes nephew.—22. Mr. Sidney made one of the four chief Gentlemen.—23. Monsieur le Mareschal came to me, declaring the King his master's well-taking my readiness to this treaty, and also how much his master was bent that way. He presented Monsieur Bois Dolphine to be Ambassador here, as my Lord Marquess the 19th day did present Mr. Pickering.—26. Monsieur le Mareschal dined with me: after dinner saw the strength of the English archers. After he had so done, at his departure I gave him a diamond from my finger, worth by estimation 150^l, both for pains, and also for my memory. Then he took his leave.—27. He came to a hunting to tell me the news, and shew me the letter his master had sent him; and doubtless of Monsieur Termes' and Marignan's letters, being Ambassador with the Emperor.—28. Monsieur le Mareschal came to dinner in Hyde Park, where there was a fair house made for him, and he saw the coursing there.—30. He came to the Earl of Warwick's; lay there one night; and was well received.—29. He had his reward, being worth 3000^l. in gold, of current money; Monsieur de Gye, 1000^l; Monsieur Chenault, 1000^l; Monsieur Movillier, 500^l; the Secretary, 500^l; and the Bishop of Peregrueux, 500^l."

AUGUST.

"3. Monsieur le Mareschal departed to Bologna, and had certain of my ships to conduct him thither.—9. Four and twenty Lords of the Council met at Richmond, to commune of my sister Mary's matter; who at length agreed that it was not

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meet to be suffered any longer; making thereof an instrument, signed with their hands, and sealed, to be on record.—11. The Lord Marquess, with the most of his band, came home, and delivered the treaty sealed.—12. Letters sent for Rochester, Inglefield, and Walgrave, to come the 13th day, but they came not till another letter was sent to them the 13th day.—14. My Lord Marquess's reward was delivered at Paris, worth 500^l; my Lord of Ely's, 200^l; and Mr. Hobbey's, 150^l; the rest, all about one scantling. Rochester, &c. had commandment neither to hear, nor to suffer, any kind of service but the common and orders set forth at large by Parliament; and had a letter to my Lady's house from my Council for their credit; another to herself from me. Also appointed that I should come and sit at Council when great matters were debating, or when I would. This last month Monsieur de Termes, with 500 Frenchmen, came to Parma, and entered safely: afterwards, certain issued out of the town, and were overthrown; as Scipiaro, Dandelot, Petro, and others were taken, and some slain: after, they gave a skirmish; entered the camp of Gonzaga, and spoiled a few tents, and returned — 15. Sir Robert Dudley and Barnabé sworn two of the six ordinary gentlemen. The last month the Turks' navy won a little castle in Sicily.—17. Instructions sent to Sir James Croftes for divers purposes, whose copy is in the Secretary's hands. The Testourn cried down from 9^d to 6^d; the groat from 3^d to 2^d; the 2^d to 1^d; the penny to an halfpenny; the halfpenny to a farthing, &c.—1. Monsieur Termes and Scipiero overthrew three ensigns of horsemen at three times; took one dispatch sent from Don Fernando to the Pope concerning this war, and another from the Pope to Don Fernando; discomfited four ensigns of footmen; took the Count Camillo of Castilion; and slew a captain of the Spaniards.—22. Removing to Windsor.—23. Rochester, &c. returned, denying to do openly the charge of the Lady Mary's house, for displeasing her.—26. The Lord Chancellor, Mr. Comptroller, the Secretary Petre, sent to do the same commission.

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——27. Mr. Coverdale made Bishop of Exeter.——28. Rochester, &c. sent to the Fleet. The Lord Chancellor, &c. did that they were commanded to do to my sister, and her house.——31. Rochester, &c. committed to the Tower. The Duke of Somerset, taking certain that began a new conspiracy for the destruction of the gentlemen at Okingham, two days past executed them with death for their offence.——29. Certain pinnaces were prepared to see that there should be no conveyance over-sea of the Lady Mary secretly done. Also appointed that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chamberlain, the Vice-chamberlain, and the Secretary Petre, should see by all means they could whether she used the Mass; and if she did, that the laws should be executed on her chaplains. Also that when I came from this progress to Hampton Court or Westminster, both my sisters should be with me till further order were taken for this purpose.”

As no apology may perhaps be necessary either for the matter or the extent of these extracts, I will venture to close the tribute thus irregularly collected and devoted to the memory of this Prince with two additional documents of some curiosity; the first, a paper addressed to some unknown person, all written with his own hand, with which I have been just now favoured by an ingenious friend, who transcribed it from the original in the Ashmolean collection at Oxford. It is clear that it may be referred to the great and tragical discord between the Protector and his brother, and that the innocent Edward, then but at the age of ten years, had been called on to disclose the matters adverse to the Protector which had passed in his conversations with the Admiral, in order that they might be used as evidence against that nobleman. The connection of the paper with the history of Edward seems to confer some value on it, nor is it without marks of the premature sagacity which distinguished him.

“S.

The Lord Admirall cam to me at the last p̃liament, and

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desired me to wryght a thyng for him. I asked him what? He sayd it was non ille; 'it is for the Quene's maters.' I sayd if it were good the Lordes wold allow it: if it were ill, I wol not wright in it. Then he sayd he wold take in better part if i wrought. I desired him to let me alon. I asked Chek whether it wer good to wright, and he sayd no. He sayd 'w'in this tow yere at lest ye must take upon yow to be as ye are, or ought to be, for ye shall be able, and then yow may give your men somewhat; for your unkle is old, and i trust wil not live long.' I sayd it wer better for him to die befor. He sayd 'ye ar a beggarly King. Ye have no monie to pay or to geve.' I sayd that M^r Stanhop had for me. Then he sayd that he wold geve Fouler; and Fouler did geve the monie to divers men as I bad him; as to Master Chek, and the bokbinder, and other. He told me thes thinges oftentimes. Fouler desired me to geve thankes to my Lord Admirall for his gentilnes to me, and praised him to me verie much.

E. R.

"In the moneth of September, An. D. 1547, the Lord Admirall told me that min unkle, beeing gon into Scotland, shuld not passe the peesse w'out losse of men, a great number of men, or of himself, and that he did spend much monie in vain. After the returne of min unkle he sayd that i was toe bashful in mi maters, and that I wold not speake for mi right. I sayd I was wel enoughe. When he went to his contré he desired me not to beleve men that wold sclaunder him till he cam himself.

E. R."

The second is an extract from the original draft of a letter from the Lords of the council to the English Ambassador at the Court of the Emperor, which may be found among the Cecil Papers in the Illustrations of British History, &c. disclosing some slight particulars of Edward's final disease, which seems to have not been elsewhere described otherwise than generally.

"After o^r hrté comendations. We must nede be sorry now to

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write that which cometh both sorrowfully from us, and shall, we well knowe, w^t the like sorrowe be taken of yow; but, such is the almighty will of God in all his creations, that his ord^r in them may not be by us resisted. In one worde we must tell yow a greate heap of infelicité. God hathe called owte of this world o^r soveraigne Lord the vith of this moneth; whose man^r of dethe was such toward God as assureth us his sowle is in the place of eternall joye, as, for yo^r owne satisfaction p^tly ye may p^{ce}ve by the cōpye of the words which he spake secretly to hym selfe at the momeⁿt of his dethe. The desease wh^of his Ma^y died was the desease of the longs, which had in them 11 grete ulceres, and were putrefied, by meanes wh^of he fell into a consumption, and so hath he wasted, being utterly incurable. Of this evill, for the ēportance, we adv^tise you, knowing it most comfortable to have bene ignorant of it; and the same ye maye take tyme to declare unto the Emp^{or} as from us," &c.



Engraved by Tho^o Wright

JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

OR 1555

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN IN THE COLLECTION OF

SIR JOHN SHELLY SIDNEY, BART.

London Published July 1830 by Harding & Lovell Pall Mall East

JOHN DUDLEY,

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

TYRANNY and faction are the alternate followers, if not the necessary consequences of each other. The furious and fearless spirit of Henry the eighth had awed into inactivity those contending passions which under his inexperienced successor burst forth therefore with increased violence. Hence the six years of the amiable and beneficent Edward were stained even perhaps by more enormities than had disgraced the long reign of his barbarous father; for that philosophy of faction, if the expression may be allowed, which in our day bestows impunity on the leaders, and transfers the penalties to the innocent community, was then unknown, and every political contest ended in the bloodshed of some of it's authors. The minority of the Monarch, the rich spoils of the reformation, and the confusion in which Henry had left the succession to the throne, presented to the minds of the ambitious the most extravagant visions of power. The subject of the present memoir chose the last as the means of increasing a grandeur already too lofty; and by failing in the attempt forfeited his life, and acquired an eminent station in history, without exciting either pity or respect.

He was born in the year 1502, and his infancy was marked by the most unfavourable circumstances. His father, Edmund Dudley, a descendant from the ancient Barons Dudley, was one of the two chief ministers to the avarice of Henry the seventh, and was put to death, together with his colleague, Empson, in the first year of the succeeding reign. It has been said that there was more of policy than justice in this act of severity, and the restoration in blood of the son a very few months after favours

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that opinion. The influence however of his mother, Elizabeth, who was a coheir of the Greys, Viscounts Lisle, a title which was afterwards revived in her second husband, Arthur Plantagenet, perhaps did much towards procuring that grace. By her, who was equally illustrious for her high birth and eminent virtues, he was brought to the court about the year 1523, in the autumn of which he attended Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in his expedition into France, and was knighted for his gallant conduct there. On his return he attracted the notice of Wolsey, whom he accompanied on his embassy to Paris in 1528, and through whose favour he obtained the office of Master of the Armoury in the Tower, and on the fall of that minister attached himself to Cromwell, who, after the marriage, so fatal to himself, of Henry the eighth to Anne of Cleve, procured for him the appointment of Master of the Horse to that Princess. Such were the insignificant steps which this extraordinary person first mounted on his progress towards almost unlimited power.

He was one of the handsomest men of his time; excelled in military exercises; and was peculiarly distinguished by his adroitness and rich equipment in tournaments. Henry, till he arrived at middle age, generally selected his favourites from such persons, and those qualifications, perhaps, first recommended Dudley to his good graces. Hitherto undistinguished, but in the inauspicious stations of a retainer to two disgraced ministers, and a servant in the household of a detested Queen, the King suddenly took him into the highest favour; bestowed on him in 1542, on the death of his father-in-law, the dignity of Viscount Lisle, and, immediately after, the Order of the Garter, and the office of High Admiral of England for life. He commanded, in that capacity, in the succeeding year, a formidable expedition to the coasts of Scotland, in which he seems, Lord Herbert only having left a hint to the contrary, to have been completely successful, as well in the military as in the naval part of his commission, for he commanded the vanguard of the army which had

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sailed in his fleet. This service performed, he instantly embarked for Boulogne, then besieged by the King in person ; assisted considerably in the reduction of the place, and was appointed governor of it. Henry, however, had further views in selecting him for that office. He had discovered in Dudley's mind a quick and penetrating judgment, united to that gallant courage which he so much admired. He knew that France was then secretly straining every nerve to equip a fleet for the invasion of England, and it was of the utmost importance to him to place such a man at a point equally apt for observation, and for active service. The consequence fully proved the sagacity of his arrangement. The French force suddenly put to sea, and Dudley, with a fleet much inferior, not only effectually repulsed it, but attacked, in his turn, the enemy's coast, and destroyed the town of Treport, and several adjacent villages in Normandy. These circumstances led to the treaty of peace with Francis the first of the seventh of June 1545, for the ratification of which he was appointed a commissioner.

Henry, who survived that event not many months, constituted him one of the sixteen executors to his will, and those eminent persons were invested by him also with the guardianship of the young Edward. The Earl of Hertford, soon after Duke of Somerset, who was the King's maternal uncle, prevailed however on the majority of them to declare him Protector, and here, though Dudley made no open opposition to the appointment, originated the enmity between those two great men. One of the Protector's first acts was to bestow on his brother, Thomas, Lord Seymour, the post of High Admiral, which had been held with so much credit by Dudley, and which he was now compelled to relinquish, under the shew of a voluntary resignation. It is true that he received magnificent compensations, for on the very day that the patent was passed to his successor, the seventeenth of February, 1547, he was appointed Great Chamberlain of England, and created Earl of Warwick, a title the dignity of

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which was presently after highly enhanced by a gift from the Crown of the castle and manor of that town, to which were added grants of many other estates of great value, but the revocation of his commission of Admiral still rankled in his bosom. He endeavoured to conceal his disgust from Somerset, and the Protector, on his part, affected not to perceive it. Their characters were dissimilar, even to positive opposition, but they were necessary to each other. The Protector, with many admirable talents for a statesman in more composed times, was mild, timid, and irresolute; Warwick was active and courageous; sudden, and seldom erroneous in judgment, and always prompt in execution. Somerset had already risen to the highest exaltation, but felt his inability to maintain himself there by his own resources; while Warwick, on whom the prospect of his own future deceitful glory had not yet opened, sullenly determined to place himself for a time on that heavy but powerful wing which he was not at present able to clip. While he acted however with the Protector, he served him with zeal and fidelity. He commanded the English army in Scotland under Somerset, in the quality of his Lieutenant General, and the signal victory of Musselborough has been ascribed by those of our historians who wrote nearest to his time, to his conduct and courage; and signalized himself immediately after as a statesman in a negotiation at Paris, where he dexterously contrived at once to reject steadily the demand by the French king of Boulogne, and to avert the conflict which was expected to follow that refusal. In the mean time the Protector's government assumed a more despotic form, and many of his measures were unfortunate. The war in Scotland, which it is said would have occupied only the campaign of 1547 had the vigorous plan suggested by Warwick been adopted, was feebly and expensively managed; strange feuds occurred between Somerset and his brother, which ended in the Admiral's attainder and execution; the people became discontented, and at length broke out into a formidable insurrection, in many parts of the kingdom. Warwick

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was sent against them in Norfolk, at the head of an army which had been raised to serve in Scotland; defeated them in a general action; prevailed on them to give up their leaders; and treated the rest with a mildness which would have done honour to a more civilized age.

Hitherto this great man had preserved a noble character, but irresistible temptations were at hand. The Lords of the King's guardian council, to whom the Protector had of late allowed little share in the government of the State, became indignant, and conspired to divest him of his authority. Warwick possessed all the talents, as well as the temper, for the leader of such a band, and fell, as it were naturally, into that station. The Protector was imprisoned, and the Earl took his place in the favour and confidence of the King, which he soon after effectually fixed by releasing Somerset, whom Edward sincerely loved, from the Tower, and consenting, at the request of that Prince, to the marriage of his heir to the daughter of his fallen adversary, which was solemnized in the King's presence on the third of June, 1550. About the same time his office of High Admiral was restored to him; he resigned the place of Lord Great Chamberlain, and accepted that of Steward of the Royal Household; was soon after appointed Earl Marshal; and on the eleventh of October, 1551, was raised to the dignity of Duke of Northumberland. Within very few days after, Somerset was suddenly accused of an intention to murder him, and on the first of December following was brought to a trial by his Peers. The mysterious circumstances of his case, on which our historians are much disagreed, will be mentioned somewhat at large in their proper place in this work. Suffice it therefore to say here that he was convicted of felony, and on the twenty-second of the succeeding month was beheaded. In considering of this sanguinary catastrophe, and of the steps which led to it, it is difficult to believe that Northumberland was wholly innocent, but impossible either to say that he was guilty, or to guess at the probable measure of his guilt. Perhaps the

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strongest presumption to be urged in his favour, inasmuch as it tends to strengthen the opinion that Somerset was fairly charged with the crime for which he suffered, may be founded on the fact that the just, acute, and affectionate Edward made no effort to save his uncle's life, nor does he, in his *Journal*, that most curious historical collection, express any regret for the Protector's awful fate.

Northumberland now rose to the possession of absolute dominion. The King submitted himself wholly to his direction; and the Nobility, variously swayed, by affection, interest, or fear, were divided into humble agents of his government, and silent spectators of his grandeur. At this remarkable juncture Edward's health suddenly declined, and his recovery presently became hopeless. Northumberland, who could scarcely indulge the reasonable hope even of an humble and obscure impunity under a legitimate successor to the throne, conceived, with his usual boldness and impetuosity, the extravagant project of placing on it the grand-daughter of a sister of Henry the eighth, having first made her the wife of one of his sons. This was the admirable Jane Grey, who was married to the Lord Guildford Dudley, in May, 1553. Edward, always too compliant, and now worn out by sickness, was easily prevailed on to acknowledge her visionary right, and the Judges were bribed, cajoled, or threatened, till they submitted to draw letters patent for the disposal of the Crown to her, which the King signed on the twenty-first of June, fourteen days before his death. It would be impertinent and useless to enlarge here on great points of English history already so frequently and so minutely detailed. From the hour of the King's departure Northumberland's high spirit and presence of mind seem to have forsaken him. On the tenth of July he caused Jane to be proclaimed Queen; and placed her for security in the Tower. On the fourteenth, he left London, to try the temper of the country, and reached, at the head of a feeble force, the town of Bury St. Edmunds. Discouraged by the indifference of the

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people he returned to Cambridge, and there, on the twentieth of the same month, having heard of the defection of his pretended friends in London, he pusillanimously proclaimed Queen Mary, throwing his cap into the air, in token of his joy and loyalty. Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, arrived the next day with an order to arrest him, which he received with childish expressions of grief and contrition. He was conveyed to London, and, on the eighteenth of August, arraigned before his Peers, and condemned to die. Two days after, he wrote to the Earl of Arundel the following letter, which remains in the Harleian collection, a melancholy testimony of the truth of those historical relations which have been hitherto nearly incredible, of the utter abasement of spirit into which this great man fell under the reverse of his fortunes.

“Hon^{ble} L^d and in this my distress my especiall refuge, most wofull was y^e newes I receyved this eveninge by Mr. Lieutenant, that I must prepare my selfe agst. to morrowe to receyve my deadly stroke. Alas, my good L^d, is my crime so heynows as noe redemp^con but my bloud can washe awaye y^e spottes thereof? An old proverbe there is, and yt is most true, y^t a lyving dogge is better than a dead lyon. Oh y^t it would please her good Grace to give me life, yea y^e life of a dogge, y^t I might but lyve, and kisse her feet, and spend both life, and all, in her hon^{able} services, as I have y^e best part allready under her worthy brother, & her most glorious father. Oh y^t her mercy were such as she would consyder how little profitt my dead and dismembered body can bringe her; but how great and glorious an honor it will be in all posterityes, when y^e report shall be y^t soe gracious & mighty a Queen had graunted life to soe miserable & penitent an abject. Your hon^{ble} usage and promises to me since these my troubles have made me bold to challenge this kindness at your handes: Pardone me if I have done amiss therein, & spare not, I pray, your bended knees for me in this distresse. Y^e. God of heaven, it may be, will requite it one day on you or your’s; and

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if my life be lengthened by your mediac^{on}, & my good L^d. Chancellor's, to whom I have alsoe sent my blurred L^{re}, I will ever vowe it to be spent at your hon^rable feet. Oh, good my Lord, remember how sweet life is, & how bitter y^e contrary. Spare not your speech and paines, for God I hope, hath not shutt out all hopes of comfort from me in y^t gracious, princely, and woman-like harte, but y^t as the dolefull newes of death hath wounded to death both my soule & bodye, so y^e comfortable newes of life shall be as a new resurrecc^{on} to my wofull heart. But, if noe remedy can be founde, eyther by imprisonm^t, confiscation, banishm^t, and the like, I can saye noe more but God grant me patyence to endure, and a heart to forgive, the whole world.

Once yo^r fellowe and lovinge companion, but now worthy of noe name but wretchednes & misery.

J. D."

The next day, the twenty-second of August, 1553, he was brought out to suffer execution on Tower Hill, where he uttered a long speech to the multitude, in the same strain of miserable humiliation. Fox, to blacken Mary and her government, informs us that he had a promise of pardon, "even if his head were on the block," which that address tended to contradict, and which indeed is fully refuted by the terms of his letter to Lord Arundel. It is true that, contrary to the profession of his life, he declared himself on the scaffold a son of the Romish Church, a very natural artifice at such a moment. He seems indeed to have been indifferent as to modes of faith, and perhaps to religion in general.

Dudley married Jane, daughter of Sir Edward, and sister and heir of Sir Henry Guldeford, or Guildford, as commonly called, by whom he had eight sons, and five daughters. Henry, the eldest, was killed at the siege of Boulogne, at the age of nineteen; Thomas, died an infant; John, who bore the title of Earl of Warwick, and died a few months after the death of his father; Ambrose, who was restored to that title by Queen Elizabeth;

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Robert, who became also in that reign Earl of Leicester, and the great favourite of that Princess; Guildford, who has been mentioned, and whom his father's ambition led to the scaffold; Henry, killed at the siege of St. Quintin's, in 1557; and Charles, who died in infancy. The daughters were Mary, wife of Sir Henry Sidney, and mother to the admirable Philip; Catherine, married to Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; Margaret, Temperance, and another Catherine, who died infants

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THIS most exalted person, who was the eldest of the eight sons of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk of his family, and Lord High Treasurer, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Frederick Tylney, of Ashwellthorpe, in Norfolk, was created Earl of Surrey by patent, on the first of February, 1513, when his father was restored to the Dukedom, which had been forfeited by the attainder of John, the first Duke, on the accession of Henry the seventh. His first public service, at a very early age, was in the command of a ship of war in the force sent in 1511 against Sir Andrew Barton, whom most of our historians absurdly call "the famous Scottish pirate," and he had an eminent share in the naval victory in which that brave commander was killed. He soon after accompanied Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, in his expedition into Spain against the French, and, the Marquis falling sick, had then the command of the English army. In 1513, upon the death of his younger brother, Sir Edward, he was appointed to succeed him as Lord Admiral of England, and immediately after, to use the words of a very honest historian, "so completely scoured the seas that not a fisher boat of the French durst venture out." That service performed, he landed in Scotland with the same troops which had been so successful at sea, for the military of that time acted indifferently in both duties, and sent a gallant and resolute defiance to the King of Scots, which Lord Herbert in his history has detailed at a length of which the limited nature of this work will not allow the repetition; nor was this a vain threat, for he commanded, together with his brother the Lord

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Edmund, the vanguard at the battle of Floddon, and had an eminent share in the merit of the signal victory obtained there.

There is a chasm in his history from that date till 1521, when he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. It has been said that he was placed in that arduous office to avoid the opposition which was expected from him to the prosecution of his father-in-law the Duke of Buckingham, whose ruin Henry and Wolsey had previously determined on. If this be true, the fact casts on his character all the lustre which ancient loyalty derived from a disregard of selfish interests and affections, for both his civil and military government in Ireland were eminently distinguished by their wisdom, vigilance, moderation, and activity; and having, with a dreadful but necessary severity, subdued the insurrection which on his arrival he found raging in almost every part of the island, he quitted it in January 1523, loaded with the gratitude and caresses of the civilized Irish, and leaving a Parliament then sitting, from the measures of which, under his auspices, they had obtained the most signal benefits. In the May following his return he was again at sea; escorted the Emperor Charles the fifth to this country; and was by that Monarch appointed Admiral of all his dominions. Under the authority of that commission he joined the ships of Flanders with the English fleet, and made a descent on the coast of Brittany, when he burned the town of Morlaix, and other places, and laid waste the French borders, and afterwards extended his irruption into Picardy.

On the fourth of the following December, upon his father's resignation, he was raised to the office of Lord Treasurer, and on the sixth of February received a commission as General-in-chief of the army then appointed to serve against the Scots, to which was secretly annexed the most ample confidence and power with regard to the political affairs of England with that country. He returned for a short time in the summer of 1524 to take possession of his dignities and estates, and resuming soon after

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his charge in Scotland, accomplished the main object which Henry at that time had in view, by detaching the young King of Scots from the subjection in which he was held by the Regent, Duke of Albany, or, in other words, by placing him under the control of England. This service was rewarded by a grant of additional territory to his already immense domains.

The memorable fall of Wolsey, who had been his father's bitter enemy, happening soon after, he, together with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was commissioned to demand from that degraded favourite the great seal. It has been said that, on the Cardinal's reluctant delay to obey the King's subsequent order for his residence in his see of York, the Duke sent a message to him by Cromwell, threatening, on his longer stay, to "tear him with his teeth." This very improbable story rests, I believe, wholly on the account given by Stowe, whose honesty and simplicity occasionally misled him to give credit to very idle tales. All that we know with certainty of the Duke which has any relation to Wolsey, beyond the little which has been already related, is that his name appears among those of the Lords who signed the articles of impeachment against the Cardinal, and that Henry soon after granted to him the monastery of Felixtow in Suffolk, which was one of the many estates that had been allotted to the endowment of the colleges which that prelate was about to erect in Oxford and Ipswich.

He took a very active part in promoting the measure of Henry's divorce from Catherine; subscribed, with many other Peers, the bold declaration which on the first agitation of that great affair was sent to Rome, and which, in handsome terms, threatened the Holy See with Henry's assumption of the Supremacy in case of the Pope's opposition to it; and presided in several negotiations with that Pontiff and Francis I. The wisdom and steadfast fidelity with which those services, so very acceptable to the King, were performed, procured him new marks of favour, and he received from the Crown in 1534 a further

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grant of estates, and in the same year was appointed to the exalted, and then most powerful, office of Earl Marshal of England, which had been, seemingly for that purpose, vacated by the resignation of the Duke of Suffolk. He was also in that year once more constituted Lord Deputy of Ireland.

In 1536 he was again sent Ambassador to Paris, to endeavour, through the mediation of Francis the first, to procure a reversal of the Pope's decree of censure against Henry on account of the divorce, and in the following year performed perhaps the most signal service to be found in the history of his long and various ministry, by subduing the insurgents in Yorkshire, who were headed by Robert Aske. He displayed on that occasion all the talents of an able general and an acute politician, for he was compelled by the superior force of his opponents to relinquish his military operations, and to have recourse to negotiation, and conducted himself in each capacity with such address that the insurrection was suppressed almost without bloodshed. It is worthy of remark, as it proves the unlimited confidence which Henry then reposed in this great man, that he was well known to favour all the religious and many of the civil, claims of the insurgents; and it would be difficult to find a parallel instance of the equal maintenance of loyalty and private principle under similar circumstances.

It was soon after this period that Henry's passion for the Lady Catherine Howard, and his consequent determination to repudiate Anne of Cleve, discovered themselves. Cromwell, who had made the match with Anne, instantly applied himself with all diligence to oppose both those dispositions, and the Duke, who already disliked him for the active part he had taken in the Reformation, naturally conceived the highest degree of resentment against the man who endeavoured to impede his niece's progress to the station of Queen Consort. On the thirteenth of June, 1540, he impeached Cromwell at the Council Board of high treason, and, six weeks after, that extraordinary man fell

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a sacrifice to the caprice of his inhuman master, which in this instance was sustained by the jealousy of the nobility, and the prejudices of the people. On the twenty-ninth of January following that event the Duke was appointed Lieutenant General of all the King's forces beyond the river Trent, and, on the first of September, 1542, Captain General of the army in the North, at the head of which he ravaged the frontiers of Scotland in the succeeding March. He was soon after nominated commander of the rear, and then of the vanguard, of the English army in France, appointments which the peace that speedily followed rendered almost useless.

While he was engaged in these services the short-lived elevation of Queen Catherine was suddenly and tragically terminated, and the disgust which her frailty had excited in Henry's inexorable heart extended itself to her family. This motive aggravated the effect of jealousies already conceived on account of the Duke's professed attachment to the ancient religion, and of the immense power and wealth with which the King himself had so largely contributed to invest him. Henry dreaded that all the influence of each would be applied to the re-establishment of that religion, and to the support of the right of succession, in his issue by Catherine of Arragon; and determined on his death-bed that the Duke, and his admirable son the Earl of Surrey, should not survive him. Even amidst the last struggles of expiring nature he held out temptations to any who would furnish evidence against these eminent persons, and, these endeavours proving fruitless, accused them of high treason merely on an inference drawn from their having quartered with the armorial ensigns of their family the royal arms of England, and those of Edward the Confessor. He accomplished, as is well known, his dreadful purpose with regard to the Earl, and the Duke escaped almost miraculously. Broken down by age, infirmity, and solitary imprisonment, he sought for mercy to his family by concessions and apologies, the effect of which was turned against himself.

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He was prosecuted by a bill of attainder, which was hurried through both Houses of Henry's too obedient Parliament, and a warrant was dispatched on the twenty-ninth of January, 1547, for his execution; but the King died on the preceding night, and the Privy Council judged it unfit to stain the first days of the new reign with the best blood of the country.

The reformers, however, availed themselves with a secret joy of the pretexts against the Duke which Henry had bequeathed to them. He was kept a close prisoner in the Tower during the six years that Edward the sixth sat on the throne, and was not released till the third of August, 1553, the very day on which Mary made her public entry into London to take possession of the throne, when he was immediately restored, simply by her sovereign fiat, to his dignities and estates. The Parliament soon after confirmed this extraordinary mark of grace and power by an act of repeal of his attainder, in which, with an ill-merited complaisance to the memory of Henry, they laid on their predecessors all the blame of the Duke's persecution. At the end of a fortnight from his liberation, such were the sudden changes of fortune in those days, he presided as Lord High Steward on the trial of his bitter enemy John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. In the following year he raised and equipped his tenants and dependents, and marched at their head against Sir Thomas Wyatt. It was the first public service in which he was unfortunate. They were wrought on by artful suggestions of the purity of the cause they had been called on to oppose to desert to the insurgents, and the Duke, now more than eighty years of age, at that period retired from all public concerns, and died at his seat at Kenninghall in Norfolk on the twenty-fifth of August, in the same year, 1554. He was buried at Framlingham in Suffolk, leaving, as appears by the inquisition taken after his death, notwithstanding the repeated spoils that his ancestors and himself had suffered, fifty-six manors, and thirty-seven advowsons, with many other considerable estates.

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Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, married first, Anne, daughter of King Edward the fourth, who brought him one son, Thomas who died young on the fourth of August, 1508, and was buried at Lambeth: Secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, by whom he had two sons, Henry, the celebrated Earl of Surrey, and Thomas, who in the first year of Elizabeth was created Viscount Howard of Bindon, in the county of Dorset; and one daughter, Mary, married to Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, a natural son to Henry the eighth.

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FOR it is perhaps more prudent to adopt the inveterate absurdity almost invariably used in this instance, of designating a married woman by her maiden surname, than to incur the charge of obscurity or affectation by giving her that of her husband. It is most difficult to guess in what motive this singular folly could have originated, more especially as her ephemeral greatness, and its tragical termination, the only important circumstances of her public history, arose out of the fact of her union with him. It is needless however, and perhaps nearly useless, to attempt to solve that difficulty, and on this question between common sense and propriety on the one hand, and obstinate habit on the other, I am content to take the wrong side.

This prodigy of natural and acquired talents, of innocence and sweetness of temper and manners, and of frightful and unmerited calamity, was born in 1537, the eldest of the three daughters of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, by the Lady Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and of his illustrious consort, Mary, Queen Dowager of France, and youngest sister of Henry the eighth. The story of her almost infancy were it not authenticated by several whose veracity was as unquestionable as their judgement would be wholly incredible. Her education, after the fashion of the time which extended the benefits and the delights of erudition to her sex, was of that character, and was conducted by John Aylmer, a protestant clergyman, whom her father entertained as his domestic chaplain, and who was afterwards raised by Elizabeth to the see of London. For this gentleman she cherished a solid esteem and

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respect, mixed with a childish affection which doubtless tended to forward the success of her studies. Those sentiments arose in some measure out of domestic circumstances. That elegant and profound scholar, and frequent tutor of royalty, Roger Ascham, informs us in his "Schoolmaster," that, making a visit of ceremony on his going abroad to her parents at their mansion of Broadgate in Leicestershire, he found her in her own apartment, reading the *Phædon* of Plato in the original, while her father and mother, with all their household, were hunting in the park. Ascham expressing his surprise that she should be absent from the party, she answered, to use his own words, "all their sport in the park I wisse is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato—alas, good folk, they never knew what true pleasure meant." "And how," rejoined Ascham, "came you, Madam, to this deep knowledge of pleasure; and what did chiefly allure you to it, seeing not many women, but very few men, have attained thereto?" To this she replied, with a sweet simplicity, that God had blessed her by giving her sharp and severe parents, and a gentle schoolmaster; "for," added she, "when I am in the presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world, or else I am sharply taunted, and cruelly threatened, till the time come that I must go to Mr. Aylmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whilst I am with him; and thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it all other pleasures in very deed be but trifles and very troubles unto me."

Whether Ascham's first knowledge of her extraordinary attainments occurred at this period is unknown, but he certainly gave soon after the strongest proofs of the respect in which he held them. A long letter remains, perhaps one of many which he

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addressed to her, in which he declares his high opinion of her understanding as well as of her learning, and requests of her not only to answer him in Greek, but to write a letter in the same language to his friend John Sturmius, a scholar whose elegant latinity had procured him the title of "the Cicero of Germany," that he might have an indifferent witness to the truth of the report which he would make in that country of her qualifications. He speaks of her elsewhere with an actual enthusiasm. "Aristotle's praise of women," says he, "is perfected in her. She possesses good manners, prudence, and a love of labour. She possesses every talent, without the least weakness, of her sex. She speaks French and Italian as well as she does English. She writes elegantly, and with propriety. She has more than once spoken Greek to me, and writes in Latin with great strength of sentiment." Sir Thomas Chaloner, also her contemporary, not only corroborates Ascham's particulars of her erudite accomplishments, but adds that "she was well versed in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic; that she excelled also in the various branches of ordinary feminine education; played well on instrumental music, sung exquisitely, wrote an elegant hand, and excelled in curious needle work, and, with all these rare endowments, was of a mild, humble, and modest spirit." Fuller, who lived a century after her, condensing, with the quaint eloquence which distinguished him, the fruit of all authorities regarding her with which he was acquainted, says that "she had the innocence of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle, the gravity of old age, and all at eighteen; the birth of a princess, the learning of a clerk, the life of a saint, and the death of a malefactor for her parents' offences."

Her progress from this beautiful state of innocence and refinement to that dismal end was but as a single step, and the events relative to her which filled the short interval were matters rather of public than of personal history. By a marvellous fatality this admirable young creature was doomed to become the nominal

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head and actual slave of faction, and a victim to the most guilty ambition. The circumstances of the great contest for rule between the Protector Somerset and Dudley which distinguished the short reign of Edward the sixth will be found elsewhere largely treated of in this work. The latter, having effected the ruin of his antagonist, employed his first moments of leisure in devising the means of maintaining the vast but uncertain power which he had so acquired. Among these the most obvious, and perhaps the most hopeful, was the establishment of marriage contracts between his own numerous issue and the children of the most potent of the nobility, and thus, early in the year 1553, the Lady Jane Grey, for whose father he had lately procured the Dukedom of Suffolk, became the consort of his youngest son, Guildford Dudley. He was secretly prompted however to form this union by the conception of peculiar views, not less extravagant than splendid. Edward, the natural delicacy of whose frame never promised a long life, had shewn some symptoms of pulmonary disease, and the confusion and uncertainty which the brutal selfishness of his father Henry had entailed on the succession to the crown suggested to the ardent and unprincipled Northumberland the possibility of diverting it into his own family under such pretensions as might be founded on the descent of his daughter-in-law.

The absurdity of this reverie, legally or indeed rationally considered, was self-evident. Not to mention the existence of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, who might indeed plausibly enough be said to stand under some circumstances of disinherison, Jane descended from a younger sister of Henry, and there was issue in being from the elder; nay her own mother, through whom alone she could claim, was living; and the marriages both of her mother and her grandmother had been very fairly charged with illegality. Opposed to these disadvantages were the enormous power of the party which surrounded Northumberland; his own complete influence over the mind of the young King; and

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the affection which an agreement of age, talents, tempers, and studies, had produced in Edward towards his fair kinswoman, and which the Duke and his creatures used all practicable artifices to encrease. The nuptials were celebrated with great splendour in the royal palace, and the King's health presently after rapidly declined, insomuch that Northumberland saw no time was to be lost in proceeding to the consummation of his mighty project. Historians, with a licence too commonly used by them, affect to recite with much gravity the very arguments used by him to persuade Edward to nominate Jane his successor, of which it is utterly impossible that they should have been informed. All that can be truly said is that he gained his point to the utmost of his hopes and wishes.

The King was induced, apparently with little difficulty, to agree to certain articles, previously sanctioned by the Privy Council, declaring her next heir to the Crown, and, for some reason long since forgotten, but probably because it was expected that he would be the most pliable, Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was selected from the Judges, to digest and methodize them, with the aid of the Attorney and Solicitor General, into the strictest form that they could devise. Montague however, whose own account of his share in the transaction is extant, demurred. Having at first vainly endeavoured to withdraw himself entirely from the task, he sought to gain time, perhaps in expectation of the King's death, by beseeching to be allowed to consult the statutes, and all other authorities which might have any relation to so high a subject. Urged at length, with a vehemence no longer to be resisted, to proceed, he reported to the Council that the proposed measure was not only contrary to law, but would, if he were to obey their command, subject themselves, as well as him, to the penalties of high treason. Northumberland at that moment entered the council chamber in the utmost extravagance of fury; called Montague a traitor; swore that he would "fight any man in his shirt" who might gainsay the

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King's inclination; and was actually about to strike the Chief Justice, and Bromley, the Attorney General. They retired, and when they were next summoned, the King, being present, reproved them sharply for delaying the duty required of them. At length over-awed, they consented, on condition of receiving an authority under the Great Seal, and a general pardon, and the instrument being prepared, the rest of the judges were required to attend, and to sign it, which was accordingly done by all, except one, Sir James Hales, a Justice of the Common Pleas, and a man otherwise unknown, who, to his endless honour, stedfastly refused to the last. The Primate, Cranmer, with that unfortunate irresolution which formed the only distortion in the symmetry of his beautiful character, approved of Jane's succession, but objected to the mode of accomplishing it; contended, perhaps with more vigour than might have been expected of him, but in the end submitted; and signed, with the rest of the Council, not only the document which had been prepared by the lawyers, but also a second, by which they bound themselves in the strictest engagement on oath to support her title, and to prosecute with the utmost severity any one among them who might in any degree swerve from that obligation.

The Letters Patent, confirming to Jane the succession to the Throne, were signed by Edward on the twenty-first of June, 1553, and on the sixth of the next month he expired. Of these events, and even of the mere scheme for her fatal elevation, she is said to have been kept in perfect ignorance. The King's death indeed was sedulously concealed from all for a few days, which Northumberland employed in endeavouring to secure the support of the city, and to get into his hands the Princess Mary, who was on her way to London when it occurred. She was however warned of her danger, and retreated; asserted without delay her title to the Crown in a letter to the Privy Council; and received an answer full of disdain, and professions of firm allegiance to her unconscious competitor. While these matters were passing,

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Northumberland, and the Duke, her father, repaired to Jane, and having read to her the instrument which invested her with sovereignty, fell on their knees, and offered her their homage. Having somewhat recovered from the astonishment at first excited by the news, she intreated with the utmost earnestness and sincerity that she might not be made the instrument of such injustice to the right heirs, and insult to the kingdom, and that they would spare her, her husband, and themselves, from the terrible dangers in which it could not but involve them. Her arguments however were unavailing, and no means were left to her but a positive refusal, in which perhaps the strength of mind which she certainly possessed might have enabled her to persist, when the Duchess, her mother, and the young and inexperienced Guildford, were called in, and to their solicitations she yielded. She was now escorted in regal state to the Tower, on her entry into which it is remarkable that her train was borne by her mother, and in the afternoon of the same day, the tenth of July, was proclaimed in London with the usual solemnities.

In the mean time Mary, who had retired to Kenninghall in Norfolk, assumed the title of Queen, and found her cause warmly espoused by many of the nobility, and nearly the whole of the yeomanry and inferior population of that and the adjacent counties. Those who ruled in the metropolis, and who, having fondly considered her as a fugitive, had stationed some ships on those coasts to intercept her on her expected flight to Flanders, were now suddenly compelled to raise a military force to oppose to the hourly increasing multitude of her supporters. Eight thousand horse and foot were collected with surprising expedition, the command of which was assumed by Northumberland, and it was agreed that Suffolk should remain in London to conduct the government; an unlucky transposition, arising from Jane's anxiety for the personal safety of her father, whose best experience was in martial affairs, while Dudley, with all the arts of a statesman, possessed few of those qualities which win the hearts of

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soldiers, or bespeak success in the field. At the head however of this force he marched from London on the fourteenth of July, having taken leave of the Council in a short address from which his doubts of their fidelity may be clearly inferred. They were in fact at that moment agreed to betray the extravagant and unjust cause which they had so lately sworn to support. Even on the following day their intrigues became so evident that Suffolk, in the barrenness of political invention, commanded in the name of the Queen that the gates of the Tower should be kept constantly closed, to prevent the mischief which he apprehended from their communication with the adverse party. The Lord Treasurer with great difficulty procured egress for a few hours, and returned with the news that the naval squadron which had been equipped with the view of seizing the person of Mary had revolted to her, and letters were received from Northumberland pressing for reinforcements, and reporting the gradual defection of his troops on their march. The Council now affected the warmest zeal, and eagerly represented the impossibility of raising such succours otherwise than by their personal appearance among their tenants and dependants, most of them offering to lead to the field such forces as they might respectively raise. Suffolk, deceived by these professions, and by the earnestness of their dispatches to other powerful men in the country to the same effect, consented to release them from their imprisonment, for such it actually was. He did so, and they repaired, headed by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, to Baynard's Castle, the house of the latter of those noblemen, who had but a few weeks before married his heir to a sister of the unfortunate Jane, where they determined to proclaim Queen Mary, which was done on the same day, the nineteenth of July, 1553.

Jane received from her father the news of her deposition with the patience, the sweetness, and the magnanimity, which belonged to her surprising character. She reminded him with gentleness of her unwillingness to assume this short lived elevation, and

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expressed her hope that it might in some measure extenuate the grievous fault which she had committed by accepting it ; declared that her relinquishment of the regal character was the first voluntary act which she had performed since it was first proposed to raise her to it , and humbly prayed that the faults of others might be treated with lenity, in a charitable consideration of that disposition in herself. The weak and miserable Suffolk now hastened to join the council, and arrived in time to add his signature to a dispatch to Northumberland, requiring him to disband his troops, and submit himself to Queen Mary, which however he had done before the messenger arrived. Jane, whose royal palace had now become the prison of herself and her husband, saw, within very few days, its gates close also on her father, and on his. The termination of Northumberland's guilty career, which speedily followed, is well known, but Suffolk, for some reasons yet undiscovered, was spared. It has been supposed that his Duchess, who remained at liberty, and is said to have possessed some share of the Queen's favour, interceded successfully for him, and why may we not ascribe this forbearance to the clemency of Mary, in whose rule we find no instances of cruelty but those which originated in devout bigotry, a vice which while engaged in its own proper pursuits inevitably suspends the operation of all the charities of nature ?

There is indeed little room to doubt that she meditated to extend her mercy to the innocent Jane and her youthful spouse. They were it is true arraigned and convicted of high treason on the third of November following the date of their offence, and sentenced to die, but the execution was delayed, and they were allowed several liberties and indulgences scarcely ever granted to state prisoners under their circumstances. The hopes however thus excited were cut short by the occurrence of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, in which her father, while the wax was scarcely cold on his pardon, madly and ungratefully became an active party, accompanied by his two brothers. Thus Mary saw already

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the great house of Grey once more publicly in array against her crown. The incentives to this insurrection are somewhat involved in mystery, and have been variously reported. The avowed pretence for it was an aversion to the Queen's proposed marriage with Philip of Spain, but there is strong reason to believe that with this motive was mixed, at least in the breasts of the leaders, a secret intention to re-assert the claim of Jane, and Bishop Cooper, a contemporary historian, tells us plainly in his *Chronicle*, that the Duke of Suffolk, "in divers places as he went, again proclaimed his daughter." Be this however as it might, it was now resolved to put her to death without delay, and it is pretty well authenticated that the Queen confirmed that determination with much reluctance and regret.

Jane received the news without discomposure, and became even anxious to receive the final blow, but here the bigotry of Mary interfered, and she commanded that no efforts should be spared to reconcile her to that church which arrogantly denies salvation to those who die not in its bosom. She suffered the importunities, and perhaps the harshness, of several of its most eminent ministers, with equal urbanity and firmness. At length she was left to Feckenham, Mary's favourite chaplain, and afterwards Abbot of Westminster, a priest who united to a steady but well-tempered zeal an acute understanding, and great sweetness of manners, and by him, according to the fashion of the day, she was invited to a disputation on the chief points of difference between the two churches. She told him that she could not spare the time; "that controversy might be fit for the living, but not for the dying; and intreated him, as the best proof of the compassion which he professed for her, to leave her to make her peace with God." He conceived from these expressions that she was unwilling to quit the world, and obtained for her a short reprieve, which when he communicated to her she assured him that he had misunderstood her, for that, far from desiring that her death might be delayed, "she expected, and wished for it, as the period

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of her miseries, and of her entrance into eternal happiness." He then led her into the proposed conference, in which she acquitted herself with a firmness, a power of argument, and presence of mind, truly astonishing. Unable to work the slightest impression, he left her, and she sat calmly down to make a minute of the substance of their discourse, which she signed, and which may be found in most of our ecclesiastical histories. She now addressed a farewell letter to her father, in which, with much mildness of expression, though certainly with less benignity of sentiment than is usually ascribed to her, she repeatedly glances at him as the author of her unhappy fate. She wrote also to her sister, the Lady Katherine Herbert, in the blank leaves of a Greek Testament, which she requested might be delivered as her legacy to that lady, an epistle in the same language, the translation of which, however frequently already published, ought not to be omitted here.

"I have sent you, my dear sister Katherine, a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, or the curious embroidery of the artfullest needles, yet inwardly it is more worth than all the precious mines which the vast world can boast of. It is the book, my only best loved sister, of the law of the Lord. It is the testament and last will which he bequeathed unto us wretches and wretched sinners, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy; and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire follow it, no doubt it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It will teach you to live and to die. It shall win you more, and endow you with greater felicity, than you should have gained by the possession of our woful father's lands; for as if God had prospered him you should have inherited his honours and manors, so, if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life according to the rule of the same, you shall be an inheritor of such riches as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither the thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire, with David,

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my dear sister, to understand the law of the Lord thy God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life, and trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life, for unto God, when he calleth, all hours, times, and seasons, are alike, and blessed are they whose lamps are furnished when he cometh, for as soon will the Lord be glorified in the young as in the old. My good sister, once again more let me intreat thee to learn to die. Deny the world, defy the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord : Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not : Be strong in faith, yet presume not : and desire, with St. Paul, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh, and stealeth upon you like a thief in the night, you be with the servants of darkness found sleeping ; and lest for lack of oil you be found, like the five foolish virgins, or like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then you be cast into darkness, or banished from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I trust you do ; and, seeing you have the name of a Christian, as near as you can follow the steps, and be a true imitator of your master Christ Jesus, and take up your cross, lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him.

“Now, as touching my death, rejoice as I do, my dearest sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption ; for I am assured that I shall for losing a mortal life win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlasting, to which I pray God grant you in his blessed hour, and send you his all-saving grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true christian faith, from which in God’s name I exhort you that you never swerve, neither for hope of life nor fear of death ; for, if you will deny his truth, to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, God himself will deny you, and by vengeance make short what you by your soul’s loss would prolong ; but if you will cleave to him, he will stretch forth your days to an uncircumscribed comfort, and

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to his own glory ; to the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter when it shall please him to call you. Farewell once again, my beloved sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you, Amen

Your loving sister,

JANE DUDLEY."

This letter was written in the evening of the eleventh of February, 1554, N. S. and on the following morning she was led to execution. Before she left her apartment she had beheld from a window the passage of her husband to the scaffold, and the return of his mangled corpse. She then sat down, and wrote in her tablets three short passages, in as many languages. The first, in Greek, is thus translated—" If his slain body shall give testimony against me before men, his blessed soul shall render an eternal proof of my innocence before God." The second, from the Latin—" The justice of men took away his body, but the divine mercy has preserved his soul." The third was in English—" If my fault deserved punishment, my youth and my imprudence were worthy of excuse ; God and posterity will shew me favour." This precious relique she gave to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Brydges, soon after created Lord Chandos. Endeavours had been incessantly used to gain her over to the Romish persuasion, and Feckenham embarrassed her by his exhortations even to the moment of her death, immediately before which, she took him by the hand, and thanked him courteously for his good meaning, but assured him that they had caused her more uneasiness than all the terrors of her approaching fate. Having addressed to those assembled about her a short speech, less remarkable for the matter which it contained than for the total absence even of an allusion to her attachment to the reformed church, she was put to death, fortunately by a single stroke of the axe.

HENRY GREY,

DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

THIS nobleman, who, by an inversion which rarely occurs in the history of a family, derived all his public importance from his offspring, was the eldest son and heir of Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton Malherbe, in Kent, and Relict of William Medley. The antiquity and splendor of his name and descent are so well known that it is unnecessary to speak of them : of his character and conduct, considering him individually, and as a free agent, we have scarcely any intelligence. "He was a man," says Sir John Hayward, in his *Life of Edward the sixth*, "for his harmless simplicity, neither disliked nor much regarded:" but he was the father of that distinguished example of universal excellence, Jane Grey, and it is chiefly on that ground that his memory can found any claim to historical recollection.

He had been at an early age contracted by his father to Catherine, eldest daughter to William Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, whose heir and successor, Henry, Lord Maltravers, was at the same time espoused to his sister, the Lady Catherine Grey. The Marquis's marriage proved fruitless, and the vanity of forming an alliance with royalty suggested to him, soon after the death of his father, which happened in 1530, the iniquitous expedient of repudiating his innocent wife. The Lady Frances Brandon, daughter of Charles, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Queen Dowager of France, sister to Henry the eighth, encouraged his addresses ; and, as that Despot approved of their union, it is almost needless to say that the divorce was accomplished without difficulty. He married Frances Brandon, and had by her three daughters, of whom Jane was the first-born.

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He had been admitted into the number of the early companions and intimates of Henry, and is said to have been brave and generous ; perhaps in other words, daring in tournaments, and careless of expense in his equipments for them, and for other gorgeous gallantries of the Court. He left it however soon after his second marriage, and retired unambitiously to his great estates, where he remained for many years in a magnificent privacy, occupied in the usual sports and hospitalities of the country, and in the indulgence, as we are told by one author, of some taste for letters, a report which derives additional credit from the extensively learned education bestowed on his children, so remarkably exemplified in that of Jane. The circumstances which withdrew him from this honourable and happy retirement have been so fully stated in a sketch of the life of that lady, already given in this work, that it would be impertinent here to do much more than refer to them, and his own subsequent story will present little more than the barren detail of the conduct of a mere instrument in the hands of another. It will be seen there that Dudley, having pulled down his great antagonist the Protector Somerset, and gained possession of the person and mind of the youthful and declining Edward, conceived the extravagant idea of availing himself of Dorset's royal marriage as a means to seize on the Crown. When in 1551 he procured for himself the Dukedom of Northumberland, he obtained for the Marquis that of Suffolk, and used all other artifices to attach him to his interest. Suffolk however was not yet gained over, for when, at the close of the same year, the Protector was tried by his Peers on charges of high treason, the most material of which was an alledged design to kill Dudley, after the tryal, "the Lords," to use again the words of Hayward, "went together, and first the Duke of Suffolk nobly said that he held it not reasonable that, this being but a contention between private subjects, under pretension thereof any mean action should be drawn to intention of treason." Northumberland carefully concealed the vexation which he suffered from

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this opposition ; Suffolk was presently gratified with the office of Justice in Eyre of all the King's Forests ; and soon after appointed Lord Warden of the east, west, and middle Marches towards Scotland.

It was about this time that Northumberland proposed to him the marriage of his third son, Lord Guildford Dudley, with the ill-fated Jane, and met with a ready acquiescence. Edward, who was evidently sinking under an incurable malady, was prevailed on to nominate her as his successor to the Crown, which only the earnest solicitations of her family induced her most unwillingly to accept. In the mean time the vigilance of Mary's friends, and the sudden defection of several of the most powerful of Northumberland's party, left Suffolk barely time for the empty ceremonies of swearing allegiance, and doing homage, to the ephemeral regality of his daughter. He feebly affected for a few days to direct the measures of her government, while his more guilty coadjutor marched, at the head of an army, to meet the adherents of Mary in the field, but to submit to them with the most abject meanness. Suffolk, on receiving the news, followed his example in London, and having first stripped his daughter of the ensigns of royalty, joined the Privy Council, which had declared for Mary, in their expressions of loyalty to her. This artifice however, if such it may deserve to be called, proved too shallow. He was arrested, and imprisoned in the Tower, where Jane and her husband were already imprisoned ; and after a short confinement, was released without trial or penalty, for reasons which historians have in vain endeavoured to discover.

The fate of his family at this period rested on the prudence of his conduct. Justice, and even vengeance, if it was entertained in the bosom of Mary, had been satisfied by the sacrifice of Northumberland, and of several of his associates. The rigours of the imprisonment of Jane and Guildford Dudley had been gradually relaxed, and the execution of their sentence of death more than once formally respited. Mary was known to have

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betrayed an inclination to spare them. In this critical, hour when a mere passiveness on his part seemed to promise the happiest effects, Suffolk, without men, without money, without any apparent object, not only rushed wildly, with two of his brothers, into Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, but on his way to the quarters of the insurgents, again proclaimed his daughter Queen in the towns through which he passed. A new scene of blood was now opened. Jane and her husband were presently led to the scaffold, and the Duke, who seems not to have reached his destination, was betrayed by one of his servants to the Earl of Huntingdon, who had been sent to arrest him at the head of a strong body of horse. He was brought by that nobleman to London on the eleventh of February, 1554, and lodged in the Tower, and on the twenty-third of the same month was beheaded.

It has been already observed that this Duke had, in addition to Jane, two younger daughters; they were Catherine, wife first of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, from whom she was divorced, and secondly of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; and Mary, most meanly married to Martin Keys, groom porter at the Court.

JOHN RUSSELL,

FIRST EARL OF BEDFORD.

WE have here the founder of that immense fortune, and the first bearer of most of those exalted dignities, which still distinguish his posterity. He sprung however from no mean origin. His ancestors had been for nearly four centuries in the first rank of English gentry, holding of the Crown, in the County of Dorset, a Baronial estate, which, on the failure of the elder line of the family, devolved on that from which he descended. Several of them had held municipal appointments of considerable trust and honour; others had sat in the House of Commons; and his grandfather, Sir John Russell, filled the office of Speaker early in the reign of Henry the Sixth. He was the eldest son of James Russell, of Kingston, the estate above alluded to (son and heir of that Sir John) by his first wife, Alice, daughter and heir of John Wyse, a gentleman of that county.

He owed his introduction at the Court of Henry the seventh to a mere accident. Philip, Archduke of Austria, and King of Castile, say our historians, having been shipwrecked in January 1505, at Weymouth, whither he was driven by a great storm, on his passage from Flanders to Spain, was entertained by Sir Thomas Trenchard, one of the chief persons of that part of Dorsetshire, in whose house he lived splendidly, till Henry had received the news of his arrival, and invited him to the Court. It chanced that Sir Thomas sent for his cousin, Mr. Russell, then lately returned from his travels, with great fame, as Dugdale informs us, for his skill in foreign languages, to wait on the royal stranger, who was so much pleased by the conversation of his visitor, that he took the young man in his company to Windsor;

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recommended him strongly to Henry ; and thus opened the way to his future fortune. It should seem, however, from certain historical circumstances which it is needless to state here, that the hospitable entertainment of the Austrian Prince in Dorsetshire was in reality nothing less than an honourable captivity ; that Trenchard might be considered rather as his gaoler than his host ; and that Russell was appointed to watch him on the way to London, and to deliver his person safely to the King, a service very likely to please a Prince of Henry's character. Whether these conjectures be well or ill founded, it is certain that Mr. Russell made his first appearance at Court on that occasion, and that the King immediately appointed him a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and distinguished him from his fellows by a more than ordinary degree of kindness.

Henry the Eighth, who succeeded to the throne about four years after this event, received him with increased favour. They were about the same age, and Russell possessed most of the qualities which usually attracted, however seldom they might secure, that Prince's favourable notice—a sedate and clear understanding ; a courageous heart ; and a learned education, finished and polished by foreign travel. We find him in that remarkable selection of youthful gallantry made by the King in 1513, to grace his invasion of France, where during the siege of Theroüenne, Russell, with two hundred and fifty men, recovered a piece of ordnance from ten thousand French, under the command of one of their ablest generals ; and afterwards, with singular bravery, cut off a large supply of provisions which the enemy had sent towards the town. The latter of these services was so eminently distinguished, that our old chronicles have affected to preserve the very terms of a dialogue on it, between him and the King, who, when he saw him after his return from performing it, believed that he had not yet set out. “I,” cried Henry, “while we are fooling the town is relieved.” “So it is indeed,” answered the other, “for I have sent them two thousand carcasses, and they

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have spared me twelve hundred waggons of provision." "I, but," said the King, "I sent after you to cut off the bridge Dreban." "That," replied Russell, "was the first thing I did; wherefore I am upon my knees for your Majesty's grace and pardon." "Nay then," concluded the King, "by 'r Lady thou hast not my pardon only, but my favour too." He was not less active at the siege of Tournay; was one of Henry's commissioners in 1518 for the restoration of that strong city to France; and in 1522, sailed again to the French coast, in that expedition which was commanded by the Earl of Surrey as Admiral, when he received knighthood from that Nobleman for his good service at the sacking of Morlaix.

In 1523 he was first invested with the ministerial character; sent Ambassador to Rome, and from thence, with great secrecy, even, says Lord Herbert, "in disguised habit," to Charles Duke of Bourbon, to foment the difference then subsisting between that Prince and the King of France. He prevailed on the Duke to join openly the alliance between Henry and the Emperor, and was personally engaged in most of the warlike enterprises which followed that junction. In 1525 he fought at the celebrated battle of Pavia; in 1532 attended Henry at his interview with Francis the First; and in 1536 was named, with Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Sir Francis Bryan, to sit in judgment on the Lincolnshire insurgents. On his return from that employment he was appointed Comptroller of the Household, and, towards the end of the same year, was sworn of the Privy Council.

On the twenty-ninth of March, 1538, he was created Baron Russell, of Cheney, in the county of Buckingham, an estate which he had acquired by his wife, and in 1540, on the dissolution of the greater monasteries, became enriched beyond all precedent, by grants from their spoil, particularly in Devonshire, where he obtained, together with the borough and town of Tavistock, the entire demesne of its very rich abbey, comprising nearly thirty manors, with many large estates in other parts of the county, as

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well as in those of Bucks and Somerset. In 1541 he was constituted Lord Admiral of England and Ireland, and President of the Counties of Devon, Dorset, Cornwall, and Somerset ; and, in the conclusion of that year, on some occasion of difference between his master and Francis the First, was sent with a military force into Picardy. On the third of December, 1543, the custody of the Privy Seal was committed to him , and in 1545, when Henry attacked Boulogne in person, he commanded the vanguard of the besieging army. The King, who died in the succeeding year, appointed him one of the sixteen executors to his will, who formed a Council of Regency for the administration of affairs during the minority of Edward the Sixth.

At the Coronation of that Prince he exercised the venerable and dignified office of Lord High Steward of England, and soon after received from the Crown a grant of the great estates of the dissolved monastery of Woburn, in Bedfordshire, which has since become the chief residence of his heirs. A formidable insurrection in the western counties, in 1549, against the measures of the reformation, which were then pursued with the utmost vigour, called him again into military service. In his character of Governor of those provinces he patiently endeavoured by every possible exertion of the civil authority to restore order, and, finding all such efforts ineffectual, placed himself at the head of the best armed force that he could muster, and attacked the insurgents with very inferior numbers. Of the straits to which he was frequently reduced, and the dangers to which he was exposed, in this unequal warfare ; the judgment and bravery with which he extricated himself from them ; and his final complete success ; a very lengthened and particular account, still highly interesting to those who inhabit that part of the island, may be found in Hollinshed's Chronicle, and there only. It was an eminent public service, and he was rewarded accordingly, for on the nineteenth of January, 1549, O. S. he was created Earl of Bedford.

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During his absence in the West commenced the attack on the Protector, Somerset, which, though for a while suspended, terminated two years after in the tragical death of that great person. A large body of the Peers, prevailed on through the artifices of Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, had combined against the Protector, and shewn themselves in open insurrection. He solicited the support of those whom he esteemed his friends, and of those who had remained neutral. A letter from the Protector, probably circular, to the Earl of Bedford, together with two from the Earl in answer, have been preserved also by Hollinshed.

“After our right hartie commendations,” says the Duke, “to your good Lordship, Here hath of late risen such a conspiracie against the King’s Majestic and us as never hath béene séene, the which they can not mainteine, with such vaine letters, and false tales surmised, as was never ment or intended on us. They pretend and saie that we have sold Bullonge to the French, and that we doo withhold wages from the soldiers, and other such tales and letters they doo spread abroad, (of the which if anie one thing were true we would not wish to live,) the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremitie, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, especially of those men, towards the King’s Majestic and us, of whome we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and praie you to hasten you hither to the defense of the King’s Majestic, in such force and power as you maie, to shew the part of a true gentleman, and of a verie friend; the which thing we trust God shall reward, and the King’s Majestic, in time to come, and we shall never be unmindfull of it too. We are sure you shall have other letters from them, but, as ye tender your dutie to the King’s Majestic, we require you to make no staie, but immediatelie repaire, with such force as ye have, to his Highnesse, in his castell of Windsor, and the

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rest of such force as ye maie make to follow you. And so we bid you right hartilie farewell. From Hampton Court, the sixt of October.

Your Lordship's assured loving friend,

EDWARD SUMMERSET."

"To this letter," continues Hollinshed, "of the Lord Protector's, sent the sixt of October, the Lord Russell, returning answer againe vpon the eight of the said moneth, first lamented the heaue dissention fallen betweene the Nobilitie and him, which he tooke for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almighty God vpon this realme, being the next waie, said he, to make us of conquerors slaves; and like to induce vpon the whole realme an universall thraldome and calamitie, vnless the mercifull goodnesse of the Lord doo helpe, and some wise order be taken, in staieng these great extremities. And, as touching the Duke's request in his letters; for as much as he had heard before of the broile of the Lords, and feared least some conspiracie had beene meant against the King's person, he hasted forward, with such companie as he could make, for the suertie of the King, as to him appteined. Now, perceiving by the Lords' letters sent unto him the same sixt daie of October, these tumults to rise vpon privat causes betweene him and them, he therefore thought it expedient that convenient power should be levied, to be in a readinesse to withstand the worst, what perils soever might insue, for the preservation both of the King and State of the realme from invasion of forren enemies, and also for the staieng of bloudshed, if anie such thing should be intended betwixt the parties in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking best for the discharge of his allegiance, humblie besought his Grace to have the same also in speciall regard and consideration; first, that the King's Maiestie be put in no feare; and that if there be anie such thing wherein he hath given iust cause to them thus to proceed, he would so conforme himselfe as no such privat quarrels

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doo redound to the publike disturbance of the realme ; certifieng moreover the Duke that, if it were true, which he understood by the letters of the Lords, that he should send about proclamations and letters for raising up of the commons, he liked not the same ; notwithstanding he trusted well that his wisdome would take such a waie as no effusion of blood should follow."

" And, thus much being contained in his former letters the eight of October, in his next letters againe, written the eleventh of October, the said Lord Russell, rejoising to heare of the most reasonable offers of the Lord Protector made to the Lords, wrote vnto him. and promised to doo what in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of Sir William Herbert, joined together with him) did lie, to worke some honorable reconciliation betweene him and them ; so as, his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might insue, according to their good hope and expectation ; signifieng, moreover, that, as touching the levieng of men, they had resolved to have the same in readinesse for the benefit of the realme, to occurre all inconveniences whatsoever, that either by forren invasion or otherwise might happen : and so, having their power at hand to draw neere, whereby they might have the better opportunitie to be solicitors and meanes for this reformation on both parts, &c. And thus much for the answer of the Lord Russell to the Lord Protector's letter."

These answers savour more of the caution of a politician than of the cordiality of a friend, or even the complaisance of a courtier. They were written, however, in a moment of great doubt and difficulty. The Earl seems, for no other intelligence remains of his conduct amidst that terrible contention, to have steered, probably with equal honesty and wisdom, an even course between the two parties. Certain it is that the downfall of Somerset neither increased nor diminished the favour in which he had been long held. During the greatest violence of the struggle it was his good fortune to be sent, with Lord Paget, Sir William Petre,

JOHN RUSSELL, FIRST EARL OF BEDFORD.

and Sir John Mason, to treat of a peace with France, which was concluded at Guisnes, nearly at the same time when the flames of the faction at home were quenched by the blood of the Protector. He did not long survive the accession of Mary. His last public service was in an embassy of ceremony to Philip of Spain, whom he escorted in 1554 from Corunna to London, and introduced to that Princess as a bridegroom. He died at his house in the Strand, London, on the fourteenth of March, in the following year, and was buried at Cheney's, leaving by his Countess, Anne, daughter and sole heir to Sir Guy Sapcote, and widow of Sir Thomas Broughton, of Tudington, in Bedfordshire, an only child, Francis, his worthy and magnificent successor.

History affords us little on which to found a judgment of the first Earl of Bedford's character. His friends have neglected to transmit to posterity an account of those merits which could challenge so vast an extent of royal favour: His enemies too have been silent as to faults which their envy of that favour might naturally have led them to record. The detail of his services here given, is sufficient to assure us that he possessed no mean abilities, and if the conduct of such a man has escaped detraction, it justly demands our good opinion. The mighty Edmund Burke, it is true, with that magical eloquence which could almost immortalize or annihilate the characters of those whom he favoured or disliked, but with the doubtful justice which always attends effusions of anger, levelled a general censure at the memory of this Nobleman, to avenge an offence offered by his heir nearly three centuries after his death. If history could have furnished a single accusation against him, that memorable Philippic would certainly have recorded it; but it charges him only with having received great rewards, and barely insinuates that he might not have deserved them.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP OF LONDON.

THIS exemplary Divine was no otherwise distinguished from his fellow labourers in the reformation than by a piety perhaps more humble and sincere, and a zeal more fervid. He seemed to have been born, as well as educated, for the ecclesiastical profession, and possessed every qualification to adorn, if the expression may be allowed, as well as to serve a Church. He had however the misfortune to live at a period when the clergy of his country had no alternative but to abjure the faith in which they had been bred, or to retire into obscurity and poverty, and he hesitated not to adopt the former course. Certainly the history of those frightful times cannot furnish an example of a purer or more consistent proselyte; yet it is difficult to imagine views merely spiritual in the conversion of the catholic chaplain of a protestant Primate to the religious profession of his Lord.

Little is known of Ridley's parentage. A collateral kinsman, of his surname, who several years since took great pains to collect all that had been related of him, could only inform us that his father was a third son of an ancient family, seated at Willimondswike, in Northumberland, and descended from a long series of Knights, and it is well known that the name still flourishes in great respectability in that province. We learn however, from the same authority, that he had two uncles, Lancelot, an elder, and Robert, a younger, brother of his father, both clergymen of some distinction, and that the latter took on himself to provide for the education of the young Nicholas. This engagement was strictly performed, for, after having been well grounded at the always respectable school of Newcastle on Tyne, he was removed

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to Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge, and went a few years after to compleat his studies at the Sorbonne, and afterwards at the celebrated university of Louvain.

He had however in the mean time taken his degrees, in 1522 of Bachelor, and in 1524 of Master, of Arts, and had already established at Cambridge a considerable reputation for a critical skill in the learned languages, particularly the Greek, and was not less esteemed as a deeply read theologian, and an acute disputant. He returned from Louvain to his college in 1529, having added to those qualifications during his absence what was then esteemed the perfection of pulpit argument and eloquence. He became the favourite preacher; was chosen in 1533 senior proctor; and, in the following year, University orator and chaplain. It was at this time that Henry required the two Universities to examine the Scriptures on the grand question of the Pope's supremacy. Their report to the King is well known. Ridley not only went with the stream, but argued against the Papal claim with equal warmth and ingenuity, and it is probable that he then betrayed a leaning towards the new doctrines in spiritual matters, for he was soon after invited by Cranmer to reside in his house, as one of his domestic chaplains, and in the spring of 1538 the Archbishop gave him the vicarage of Herne, in Kent. In the succeeding year, on the passing of the act of the Six Articles, he had the boldness to preach publicly against that tremendous statute, to the most remarkable provision of which, the prohibition of marriage to the clergy, his patron was known to have rendered himself obnoxious. His gradual abandonment of the Church of Rome it must be confessed now attended the steps of Cranmer's defection with a singular regularity, and his preferment advanced in the same measure. In 1540 he was appointed a chaplain to the King; in the next year a prebendary of Canterbury; and in 1545 obtained a stall in the Church of Westminster.

In the mean time those of the old Church, justly alarmed by

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his popularity as a preacher, made various efforts to silence him. In 1541 his brother prebendaries of Canterbury exhibited a complaint against him at the Archbishop's visitation, for having impugned the law of the Six Articles, and afterwards accused him at the Quarter Sessions for Kent, of directing that the *Te Deum* should be sung in English in his church of Herne, and of preaching against auricular confession. These charges were at length brought, probably on the suggestion of Cranmer, before the Privy Council, when the King referred them to the decision of that Prelate, by whom they were presently quashed. It was not however till shortly before the death of Henry that Ridley completely embraced the protestant faith. He had not yet rejected transubstantiation; and it is remarkable that in this last article of his conversion he once more accompanied Cranmer. We are told indeed by Fox, and others, that he employed nearly the whole of the year 1545 in reading and reflecting on this celebrated tenet, in utter retirement at his Vicarage; and Cranmer, in the preface to his treatise on the Sacrament, ascribes his own renunciation to the effect of his chaplain's arguments. At all events, this change in their profession may be said to have been simultaneous.

The doubts and fears of the reformers having been removed by the death of the capricious tyrant, Ridley gave the reins to his zeal and his eloquence. He presently gained the esteem of the young Edward, already a judge and a patron of merit. The fellows of Pembroke Hall, of which he had now been for some time master, having given him a living in the diocese of Norwich, the presentation to which was claimed by the Bishop, he was admitted to it by the express command of the King; and on the fourth of September, 1547, was promoted to the see of Rochester. In the succeeding year he was one of the divines to whom was intrusted the great task of composing the common prayer, and was soon after joined in commission with Cranmer and others for the correction of the schism of the Anabaptists, and the removal

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of other excrescences which had already deformed the new system of faith. In the execution of this latter office he unhappily made himself a party in some horrible acts of persecution, the most remarkable of which were the proceedings against Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, and a Dutchman, named Paris, who were burned alive, the one for denying the humanity, the other the divinity, of Christ. In the same year, 1539, he presided in a public disputation at Cambridge on the subject of the Sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the result was a decision against transubstantiation, for the purpose of obtaining which the conference had in fact been held.

Towards the close of the same year Bonner, Bishop of London, was deprived, and Ridley, who had been one of the commissioners by whose sentence he was ejected, was appointed to succeed him; and here a most amiable light is thrown on Ridley's character by the accidental preservation of some of those minute circumstances which make us better acquainted with men's characters than whole volumes of the most honest biography—"He took care," says my authority, "to preserve from injury the goods, &c. belonging to Bonner, allowing him full liberty to remove them when he pleased. Such materials as Bonner had purchased for the repair of his house and church the new Bishop employed to the uses for which they were designed, but he repaid him the money which he had advanced for them. He took upon himself the discharge of the sums which were due to Bonner's servants for liveries and wages; and that the mother and sister of that Prelate, who lived near the palace at Fulham, might not be losers in consequence of his own promotion, he always sent for them to dinner and supper, constantly placing Mrs. Bonner at the head of the table, even when persons of high rank were his guests; often saying, 'by your Lordship's favour, this place, of right and custom, is for my mother Bonner;' as if he had succeeded to the relation, as well as office of her son." These small notices are the more valuable because very little has been

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transmitted to us as to his private character. I have met with scarcely any thing of that sort on which we may safely rely, except in a letter from William Turner (physician to the Protector Somerset, and who had been Ridley's fellow collegian) to Fox, who seems to have applied to him for personal matter of Ridley to insert in his Martyrology. Turner, after extolling him as a disputant, and a scholar, enlarges, in the strongest terms, on his charitable disposition; the sweetness of his temper and manners, and the warmth of his attachments; and instances his friendship for Edmund Grindal, afterwards Primate, whom Turner calls his "Fidus Achates."

The first steps indeed of Grindal's progress to supreme dignity in the English Church were made under his guidance and patronage. This is in some measure, proved by an original letter from Ridley to Sir John Cheke, which remains in the library of Emanuel College, and which it will not be impertinent to insert here, as a specimen of Ridley's energetic style—

"Master Cheke,

I wish you grace and peace. Sir, in God's cause, for God's sake, and in his name, I beseech you of your pain and furtherance towards men of God's word. I did talk with you of late what case I was in concerning my chaplains. I have gotten the good will and grant to be with me of three preachers, men of good learning, and, as I am persuaded, of excellent virtue, which are all able, both with life and learning, to set forth God's word in London, and in the whole diocese of the same, where is most need, of all parts of England, for thence goeth example, as you know, into all the rest of the King's Majesty's whole realm. The men's names be these: Master Grindal, whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning. Master Bradford, a man by whom I am assuredly informed God hath and doth work wonders in setting forth of his word. The third is a preacher the which, for detecting and confuting the Anabaptists and Papists in Essex,

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both by his preaching and writing, is now enforced to bear Christ's cross. The two first be scholars in the University: the third as poor as either of the other twain. Now there is fallen a Prebend in Paul's, called Cantrell's, by the death of one Leyton. This Prebend is an honest man's living of xxxiv. pounds, and better, in the King's books. I would give it with all my heart to Mr. Grindall, and so I should have him continually with me. The Council hath written to me to stop the collation, and say the King's Majesty hath determined it unto the furniture of his stable. Alas, Sir, this is an heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of the gospel? Speak, Mr. Cheke, speak, for God's sake, for God's cause, unto whomsoever you may do any good withall; and, if you will not speak, then I beseech you let this my letter speak.

From Fulham, this present, the xxiiiith. day of July, 1561.

Your's in Christ,

NIC. LONDON.

Ridley's promotion to the See of London seemed to reinvigorate the activity of his zeal. He presently made a diocesan visitation, in which he caused the altars in all the churches to be demolished, and replaced by the simple tables still in use. He was now appointed by the Privy Council, jointly with Cranmer, to compose a regular code of the Protestant faith, which having comprised in forty-two articles, it was sanctioned by the King in Council, and published under the royal authority. Having perhaps imbibed some portion of vanity from the praise which he had been so long used to receive for the acuteness and eloquence of his argumentation, he determined about this time to apply them towards the conversion of the Princess Mary, and with that view waited on her, at her residence at Hunsdon House. The narration of what passed in that visit, at least as creditable to the Princess as to the Bishop, is too curious to be here omitted, and I give it nearly in the very words of Fox.

“ Her Highness received him in the presence chamber; thanked

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him for his civility, and entertained him with very pleasant discourse for a quarter of an hour ; said she remembered him at Court, when chaplain to her father, and mentioned particularly a sermon of his before her father, at the marriage of Lady Clinton that now is, to Sir Anthony Browne; and then, leaving the presence chamber, she dismissed him to dine with her servants. After dinner she sent for him again, when the Bishop in conversation told her that he did not only come to pay his duty to her Grace by waiting on her, but, further, to offer his service to preach before her the next Sunday, if she would be pleased to admit him. Her countenance changed at this, and she continued for some time silent. At last she said, “ I pray you, my Lord, make the answer to this yourself.” The Bishop proceeding to tell her that his office and duty obliged him to make this offer, she again desired him to make the answer to it himself, for that he could not but know what it would be ; yet, if the answer must come from her, she told him that the doors of the parish church should be open for him if he came, and that he might preach if he pleased, but that neither would she hear him, nor allow any of her servants to do it.

“ ‘ Madam,’ said the Bishop, ‘ I trust you will not refuse God’s word.’ ‘ I cannot tell,’ said she, ‘ what you call God’s word : that is not God’s word now that was God’s word in my father’s days.’ The Bishop observed that God’s word was all one at all times, but had been better understood and practised in some ages than others : upon which she could contain no longer, but told him— ‘ You durst not for your ears have preached that in my father’s days that now you do ;’ and then, to shew how able she was in this controversy, she added— ‘ as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them : I never did, and never will.’ She then broke out into many bitter expressions against the form of religion at present established, and against the government of the realm, and the laws made in her brother’s minority, which she said she was not bound to obey till the King came of perfect

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age, and when he was so, she would obey them ; and then asked the Bishop if he was one of the Council ; and, on his answering no, ‘ you might well enough,’ said she, ‘ as the Council goes now-a-days ;’ and parted from him with these words ; ‘ My Lord, for your civility in coming to see me I thank you ; but for your offer to preach before me I thank you not a whit.’ After this, the Bishop was conducted to the room where he had dined, where Sir Thomas Wharton gave him a glass of wine, which when he had drank he seemed confounded, and said ‘ surely I have done amiss ;’ and being asked how ? he reproached himself for having drank in that place where God’s word had been refused ; ‘ whereas,’ said he, ‘ if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken the dust from my feet, as a testimony against this house.’” Even if Mary had attempted to convert him, he could scarcely have used a more furious speech.

A sad reverse of fortune awaited this poor Prelate, and even now closely impended over him. An incurable pulmonary malady soon after seized on the incomparable Edward, and with the decline of his health faded the views of the reformers. Not long before his death, Ridley having delivered before him, with great fervour of eloquence, a discourse on the duties of charity and beneficence, the King sent for him in the evening, to confer with him more at large on the subjects of his sermon, and it is the tradition that Christ’s hospital, and those of St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and Bridewell, owe their foundation, or rather their endowments, to the effect produced on the King’s mind by his communication with Ridley on that day. Edward survived but for a few weeks, and Jane Grey became the forlorn hope of the Protestants. Ridley exerted his utmost powers of persuasion in the public support and justification of her title to the Throne, and, on the utter failure of the enterprize at the head of which she had been cruelly placed, tendered his homage to Mary, and besought her mercy. He had however now added the crime of

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rebellion to what she deemed obstinate heresy, and could scarcely have hoped for forgiveness, even from the most clement Prince under her circumstances.

He was presently committed to the Tower of London, where he remained for eight months, in a less rigorous confinement than Cranmer, and others, who were imprisoned there for the same causes. It has been thought that Mary was inclined to spare him; an inference drawn from the fact that more strenuous endeavours were used with him to persuade him to recant than towards any of his fellow prisoners. The firmness however of his resistance does honour to his memory. He was removed, together with Cranmer and Latimer, to Oxford, and compelled to waste what may be called his dying breath in new disputations on the real presence, and other dogmas of the ancient Church. At length he was brought to trial, and, on the first of October, 1555, condemned to die for heresy. The fifteenth of the same month was appointed for the execution of the sentence, and neither ancient nor modern history can produce a finer example of an heroism, at once splendid and modest, than was displayed in the demeanour with which he met his frightful fate. He perished at the stake, in company with his ancient friend Latimer, and with unnecessary suffering, caused by the mismanagement of those to whom the preparations for the tragedy had been entrusted.

Bishop Ridley was author of a number of devout and controversial pieces, which have been printed, and long since forgotten. 1, "Injunctions of Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, to his diocese"—2, "a Treatise concerning images not to be set up nor worshipped in churches"—3, "a brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper"—4, "The way of peace among all Protestants," in a Letter to Bishop Hooper—5, "A Letter of reconciliation to Bishop Hooper"—6, "a piteous Lamentation of the miserable State of the Church of England in the time of the late revolt from the Gospel"—7, "a Comparison between the comfortable

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doctrine of the Gospel and the traditions of the Popish religion”
—8, “Account of the Disputation held at Oxford”—9, “A
friendly Farewell,” written during his imprisonment there—
10, “a Treatise on the Blessed Sacrament.”

THOMAS CRANMER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

CRANMER, unlike the generality of the clergy of his time, was of very respectable birth. His family was originally seated at Sotherton, in Suffolk, from whence his grandfather removed to Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, on his marriage with the heiress of a most ancient house which bore the name of that parish, and whose estates he acquired by the match. The Archbishop was the second son of Thomas Cranmer, of Aslacton, by Agnes, daughter of Laurence Hatfield, of Willoughby, in the same county; and was born at the former place on the second of July, 1489. Strype informs us that the education of his childhood was entrusted to "a rude and severe parish clerk" (meaning, I suppose, the minister of his father's parish) "of whom he learned little, and endured much;" and that at the age of fourteen he became a student of Jesus College, in Cambridge, and in due time was elected a fellow of that house, and took his degree of Master of Arts. His academical career was for a while arrested by an unbecoming match, into which he was probably led by that kind and easy nature which has been always ascribed to him. We are told particularly of his wife, that she was a relation to the hostess of the Dolphin Inn, opposite to Jesus Lane, in Cambridge, and resided there, doubtless in the character of a servant. The marriage of course deprived him of his fellowship, and this good man, destined to become the second person in the State, retired meekly to live with his wife at the inn, perhaps enjoying there, such is the delusion and uncertainty of human prospects, that peace, and tranquil security, which was ever denied

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to his future grandeur. Within a year, however, she died in childbirth : Cranmer, such was the affection of his college towards him, was immediately restored to his fellowship ; and in 1523 was admitted Doctor in Divinity, and appointed Reader of the Theological Lecture in his own college, and an examiner of candidates for divinity degrees.

He remained, thus employed, in the University till 1529, when an accident made him known to the King. The plague then raged in Cambridge, and Cranmer had taken refuge in the house of a Mr. Cressy, to whose wife he was related, at Waltham Abbey, in Essex, and had carried thither with him the sons of that gentleman, who were his college pupils. It happened during his short residence there that Edward Fox, at that time Almoner to the King, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford, and the celebrated Stephen Gardiner, came to visit his host : and the legality of Henry's proposed divorce from Catharine of Aragon, for which he was then suing at Rome, becoming the topic of conversation, those eminent persons, to whom Cranmer's reputation at Cambridge was not entirely unknown, engaged him in the discussion. He ventured to say that he thought the King's reference to the Holy See was totally unnecessary ; would produce tedious delay, and in the end prove ineffectual : that the question whether a man might lawfully marry his brother's widow appeared to him to have been already clearly decided by the authority of the Scriptures ; but that the safest method for the King to pursue would be to lay that question before the most learned divines of his two Universities, and to abide by their decision. Fox and Gardiner, who were good courtiers, as well as good catholics, conscious that the King would highly relish the proposal, hastened to inform him of it, and, honestly, or unwarily, mentioned the name of the author ; on which Henry is said to have exclaimed, " this man hath gotten the sow by the right ear." He commanded Cranmer to wait on him without delay ; formed presently a high opinion of his talents and his

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learning; and directed him to digest in the form of a general treatise all his arguments on the subject of the divorce; and, in order to his undisturbed application to that task, placed him in the house of Thomas Earl of Wiltshire, where he became the friend and favourite of that nobleman's daughter, the beautiful and ill-fated Anne Boleyn, whom Henry already meditated to take to his second wife. These matters are said to have occurred in August, 1529.

When he had completed his book, the King sent him to Cambridge, to dispute for the positions which he had advanced in it, and the decision soon after publicly declared by that University against the legality of the marriage with Catharine has been ascribed by historians chiefly to the ingenuity of his reasoning, a compliment the justice of which, whatever we might be inclined to place to the score of Henry's fearful influence, or of the undoubted dictates of religion and morality, it would be impertinent in this place to controvert. Be that however as it might, certain it is that he had already acquired so great a degree of credit with his master that he placed him at the head of those divines and civilians who were attached to the Earl of Wiltshire's embassy in the following year to the courts of Rome, Paris, and Brussels, and instructed to argue there for the divorce. He had the boldness to present his book to the Pope, and to propose a public disputation on the question, which was civilly declined; but he pressed so closely for some sort of decision, that the Conclave was at length forced into the impious absurdity of uttering a judicial declaration that the marriage was against the law of God, but that yet the Pope had the power of dispensing with it. Leaving Rome, he travelled with the ambassador through Germany, and at Nuremberg became acquainted with Osiander, a celebrated Protestant divine of that city, with whom he sojourned for a considerable time, and prevailed on him to write a treatise on incestuous marriages, in reference to the King's case. But he had a stronger motive for prolonging his stay at

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Nuremberg. He had again fallen, in the midst of his grave occupations, into the snare of Love: and before he left that city was privately married to the niece of Osiander. This connection appears to have been attended but by little comfort, for, on his return, he left her in Germany; after a time, sent for her to England; and for five years together seemed to have no intercourse with her beyond an indifferent acquaintance; and even this he thought it prudent to relinquish, on the appearance in 1539 of the famous Six Articles, two of which forbade the marriage of priests, under pain of death, when he sent her again to her family. He had by this Lady (a fact which has escaped the notice of all who have written concerning him) a son, and a daughter. I find in the journals of Parliament that a bill passed the Commons on the ninth of March, 1562, for "the restoration in blood of Thomas and Margaret, children of the late Archbishop Cranmer."

To return to his public life. It should seem that the King had gradually imparted to Cranmer the whole of his confidence with regard to all his affairs in Germany, for we find him, singly, treating with the Emperor, the Elector of Saxony, and other Princes of the empire, on every matter of importance in which England was then concerned with them. He returned, however, in November, 1532, and was immediately named to succeed Warham, who had died in the preceding August, in the see of Canterbury; thus leaping at once from the Archdeaconry of Taunton, and a single benefice, so insignificant that the name of the parish has not been preserved, to the highest ecclesiastical dignity of his country. The truth is, that Henry had found in him a man of considerable talents, united to a candid and grateful mind: humble and pliant as to all temporal affairs, but stedfastly attached to the new faith, a sort of obstinacy at that moment most convenient to his master's purposes. Strype has recorded, not much to Cranmer's credit, a long detail of his coquetry with the King as to his acceptance of this mighty dignity, in which the simple

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folly of *Nolo Episcopari* is absolutely burlesqued. He professed to decline it, not on the allegation, usual in such cases, of his own insufficiency, but because he could not endure the necessary appointment by the Pope, knowing his Majesty to be the supreme head of the Church. Henry, affecting to treat this as a new opinion, put him on the proof, and Cranmer quoted an host of texts. The King, good man, was staggered, and referred the question to some chosen civilians, who determined that Cranmer might, without offence to his conscience, accept the Archbishoprick at the hands of the Pope, and afterwards protest against his spiritual authority. He submitted, and was consecrated on the thirtieth of March 1543, when he took the usual oath of fidelity to the Pope, and at the same time recorded a long declaration, in which, unhappily, we find the following words. “*Non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta, quovis modo me obligare, quominus libere loqui, consulere, et consentire valeam, in omnibus et singulis reformationem religionis Christianæ, gubernationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, aut prærogativum Coronæ ejusdem.*”

The first important public act of the new Primate was to pronounce the sentence of divorce between Henry and Catharine : the second, to marry that Prince to Anne Boleyn. Though his interest was strengthened by the elevation of that unfortunate Lady, it was not injured by her fall ; and yet, much to the credit of his heart, he had ventured, on her commitment to the Tower, to intercede for her with her savage husband. Indeed his zeal and activity in the great work of the reformation had rendered him an instrument indispensably necessary to the King’s designs. While Cromwell was busily demolishing the fabric of the ancient religion, Cranmer, with a gentler hand, raised the new one from its ruins ; and, if the Church of England owes the strength and solidity of its structure to the power of Henry, the praise of its beautiful symmetry, and of the simple grandeur of all its parts, is due to the judgement, the mildness, and the patience, of the

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Archbishop. The story of a man so employed affords but few personal circumstances ; and a history of the reformation is in fact the public life of Cranmer. In the prosecution of his mighty task he encountered considerable obstacles ; was frequently contradicted, and sometimes endangered. Few among his contemporary prelates were sincere reformers, though all had abjured the Papal authority. Among them, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, not less distinguished by his sagacity than by his malignity, and the detestable Bonner, Bishop of London, were his bitterest enemies. At their secret instigation a long list of frivolous articles were preferred against him in 1543, by some clergy of his own diocese, for mal-administration, and irreligious practices, in his metropolitan church ; and, that prosecution having justly ended in the utter shame and ruin of his accusers, he was charged in the House of Commons with heresy against the Sacrament of the Altar. This attack also failed, but in the following year a heavier blow was struck at him, for he was impeached to the King by a party, doubtless a majority, in the Privy Council, of endangering the safety of his Majesty, and of the realm, by dividing the people into a variety of heretical sects ; on which it was demanded that he might forthwith be committed to the Tower, in order to his judicial examination. He was now saved by the special interposition of the King's absolute authority. Henry, having affected to consent to his imprisonment, sent privately for him in the night, and apprised him of his critical situation. Cranmer, stout in the defence of his doctrine and his practice, replied that he was well content to be committed, so that he might be afterwards indifferently heard. " O Lord," rejoined the King, (to use the words given to him by Fox) " what fond simplicity ! so to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of your's may take advantage against you. Do not you know that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you, and condemn you ; which, else, being now at liberty, dare not once open their

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lips, or appear before your face?" and hereupon gave him a ring, which was his usual token to the Council when he had determined to take the consideration of any matter from them to himself. They summoned the Archbishop to appear before them the next morning, and, after having subjected him to the indignity of waiting for an hour among servants in their antichamber, called him in; recited their charges against him at great length; and concluded by informing him of their resolution to make him prisoner; when he produced the ring, and the assembly, breaking up in confusion, waited on the King, who reproached them of falsely accusing his faithful servant, and terrified them into a shew of reconciliation with him. Shakespeare has detailed the circumstances of this incident in his play of Henry the Eighth with much historical fidelity.

Henry at his death bestowed no peculiar mark of favour on Cranmer. He was named, it is true, in the King's will as one of the sixteen executors, and guardians to the youthful successor, a distinction which could scarcely have been with-held from any one in his high office. Edward's minority, however, and the affection of the Protector Somerset to the Protestant cause, left his inclination and his power to proceed in the reformation wholly uncontrouled. Gardiner and Bonner were committed to prison, and deprived; as were Heath, Bishop of Worcester; Day of Chichester; and Tunstal, of Durham; but Cranmer's triumph over them was marked by mildness and humanity. The death of Somerset, and the accession of Dudley to vice-regal power, mighty as the opposition had been of those two great men, impaired neither his power nor his credit, for Dudley was, or affected to be, a zealous Protestant, and Cranmer meddled little in temporal affairs, unless they were importantly connected with those of the church, and therefore had few political enemies. Unhappily, his exalted situation necessarily forced him to take a decided part on the great state question of the succession, which distinguished the close of this reign. After having argued with

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equal boldness and acuteness in the Council, and with the King himself, in support of Mary's title to inherit the Crown, he was at last prevailed on by Edward himself, as it is said, in a personal conference, to subscribe to the Will by which that Prince had, on his death bed, bequeathed it to Jane Grey, and this inexcusable vacillation sealed the ruin which before seemed ready to overwhelm him.

On the accession of Mary, the whole weight of her vengeance, and that of her hierarchy, burst upon him with irresistible fury. He was included in the act of attainder of the adherents of Jane, and in November, 1553, adjudged guilty of high treason for the part he had taken in her cause. He sued for mercy with the most submissive humility, and was tantalized with a pardon for that offence, which was granted merely to aggravate, as it should seem, the bitter chastisement which awaited him. Apparently in the same spirit, he was sent, in custody, from the Tower, together with Ridley and Latimer, to Oxford, to hold a public disputation on matters of Faith, with a select number of Romanists from the two Universities and the Convocation, deputed by the whole body of Mary's Bishops, not only for that purpose, but to deal judicially with the venerable prisoners. Here Cranmer adhered to his principles with a noble constancy, and on the twentieth of April, 1554, two days after the disputation, was again brought before this singular court; required to recant; and, on his refusal, condemned as a heretic. He was now remanded to his prison, till a confirmation of his sentence should be obtained from Rome, instead of which the Pope ordered a new trial, under his own authority, and directed Cardinal Pole, his Legate, to issue a commission for that purpose. On the twelfth of September, in the following year, Cranmer appeared before the commissioners, at the head of whom was Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, in St. Mary's church in Oxford, and, after some slight form of trial, was again vehemently exhorted to renounce his errors, and again firmly refused: whereupon he was declared contumacious, and cited to

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appear personally at Rome within eighty days, to which he agreed. In the mean time letters arrived from the Pope to the King and Queen, demanding that he should receive immediate condemnation, and be delivered over to the secular arm. This mandate was accompanied by an order to Bonner, and Thirleby, Bishop of Ely, to degrade him publickly, which ceremony was performed in the most mortifying and humiliating manner that vulgar malice could contrive.

All however was not yet lost. Cranmer with the crown of martyrdom suspended but by a hair over his head, was still a formidable adversary. His courageous maintenance of that faith from either the letter or spirit of which he had never for an instant swerved, was a weapon which his enemies could not have wrested from him: but, alas! he let it fall from his hand, and the glory of the Saint was lost in the weakness of the man. Seduced, as Lord Herbert gives us room to suppose, by hopes treacherously held out to him, in an evil hour he signed a written recantation of all his doctrines. The rest is horrible to relate. Having thus sacrificed a splendid reputation in this world, and hazarded his salvation in the next, for the sake of a small remnant of mortal life, which he must have passed in disgrace and obscurity, an order was secretly issued for his execution. He was led to St. Mary's Church to hear a sermon, and placed opposite to the pulpit, which was mounted by a friar, who exhorted him to persist stedfastly in the faith which he had lately embraced, and that to death itself, "which," added the Friar, "it is the will of the magistrate to inflict on you this day!"

In this dreadful moment Cranmer sprung above himself, and nearly redeemed all that he had lost. "He rose from his seat," says Bishop Godwyn, "and, without the smallest discovery of fear, made an excellent speech to the people, in which having premised many things concerning reformation of life and morals, he repeated the principal heads of his doctrine, and briefly explained his faith, affirming that in the power of the Pope was

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contained and established the Kingdom of Antichrist; and, finally, representing how heinously he had offended God by renouncing the truth, he declared therefore his resolution that his right-hand, which had so impiously sinned in subscribing the doctrines proposed by the enemies of truth, should be the first to suffer punishment." He was hurried directly from the church to the place of execution. "There he stood," continues Godwyn, as translated by Bishop Kennet, in a strain of expression which could not be amended, "exposed, the most piercing spectacle in the world, sufficient, one would think, not only to extort compassion from his enemies, but to melt inanimate things into tears; the Primate of England, that lately flourished in the highest honour and authority with Princes; most venerable for his great sanctity of life, for his age, person, learning, gravity, and innumerable excellencies of mind; now by the malice of the Romanists, drest in a ridiculous old habit; baited with scurrility, and contemptuous revilings; and dragged to a most inhuman and tormenting death. When he was bound to the stake, as soon as the fire was kindled, he raised his left hand to Heaven, and, thrusting out the other, held it in the flames, not removing it, except once to stroak his beard, till it was quite consumed. At last, as the flame increased, lifting up his eyes, he cried out, Lord, receive my spirit! and, continuing as motionless as the stake to which he was tied, endured the violence of the torture till he expired."

Archbishop Cranmer was the author of a multiplicity of devotional and controversial works. We have of his writings in print, his treatise on the unlawfulness of Henry's first marriage, which has already been mentioned.—Several Letters to that Prince and his ministers, and to some foreign divines.—Three discourses on the Matter of the King's book, entitled "the Erudition of a Christian Man"—a great part of what was called "the Bishop's Book"—Queries in order to the correcting of several abuses in religion—Queries concerning reformation, with

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answers—A resolution of seventeen questions concerning the Sacraments—A collection of passages out of the Canon Law, to shew the necessity of reforming it—Answers to the fifteen articles of the Devonshire rebels in 1549—A Defence of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; which having been attacked in an answer by Gardiner, Cranmer rejoined in a second tract on the same subject—A Preface to the English translation of the Bible. A Catechism of Christian doctrine—The first part of the Book of Homilies—An answer to Dr. Richard Smith, who had written against his books on the Sacrament—A Confutation of unwritten Verities—Reasons which led him to oppose the Six Articles—Answers to some Queries concerning Confirmation—Considerations offered to King Edward the Sixth in favour of a further Reformation—A Manifesto against the Mass—and a Manual of pious Prayers. All, or nearly all, these Works may be found, either originally printed, or reprinted, in the collections of Fox, Burnet, and Strype.

His manuscript remains are perhaps equally voluminous, for several of his Tracts which are known to have existed are still undiscovered. Two very large volumes, written by his own hand, on all the great points at issue between the two Churches, are in the King's Collection in the British Museum, and there are, or were, six or seven more in the library at Hatfield. Burnet mentions two other volumes, which he examined; and many of his original letters are in the Cotton Library. Strype states that he left also a Declaration, in two books, against the Pope's Supremacy; a treatise, in two books, against the Pope's Purgatory; another, concerning justification; and an Argument against the sacrifice of the Mass, composed during his imprisonment; but does not inform us whether in manuscript, or printed.

The original from which the present engraving is taken is a singular curiosity, independently of its great intrinsic merit; for it is the only known specimen of an artist whose very name has

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escaped the observation of Lord Orford, Pilkington, Bryan, and others who have favoured us with notices of pictorial biography —It is inscribed “ Gerbicus Flicciis faciebat,” and by a label which appears on another part of the picture we are informed that it was painted in the fifty-seventh year of the Archbishop’s life.

EDWARD COURTENAY,

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

WE view the circumstances of this Nobleman's short life through the mists of fear and prejudice. An unhappy fatality, as it might seem, had connected him, even from the hour of his birth, with the highest public considerations, in a time peculiarly marked by cruelty and suspicion. Many who knew the truth of his story, and might have been inclined to tell it with fidelity, shrunk probably from so hazardous a disclosure, and remained nearly silent. Of those who have touched on it more at large, some seem to have been confined by party spirit, and others by an authority not unwelcome to their religious and political bigotry, to the relation of a few facts which tend rather to excite curiosity than to afford information. Even from them, however, we are enabled to infer with accuracy that he was accomplished, innocent, and miserable.

His misfortunes originated solely in his illustrious descent. His father, Henry Courtenay, tenth Earl of Devonshire of his family, whose mother was the Princess Catherine, daughter of King Edward the fourth, had been one of the ephemeral favourites of Henry VIII. who, having advanced him to the title of Marquis of Exeter, caused him a few years after, to be accused of high treason, in having corresponded by letter with his banished kinsman, Cardinal Pole, convicted without proof, and beheaded. His mother, Gertrude, daughter of William Blount, Lord Montjoy, was in the following year, by a monstrous perversion of law, attainted without trial, but her life was spared. Edward, their only son, the subject of this Memoir, was born about the year 1526, and, immediately after the death of his father, though then

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only twelve years of age, was committed to the Tower, "lest he should raise commotions," says the author of the History of the Courtenay Family, "by revenging his father's quarrel." Thus dreadfully do injustice and fear ever attend and aggravate each other. He remained there, painful to relate, a close prisoner, for fifteen years. The clemency usually ascribed to the reign of Edward VI. which indeed owes the reputation of mildness and justice merely to a comparison with the deeper horrors of that which preceded it, afforded him no relief. He was even one of the six persons who were specially excepted from the general pardon granted at Edward's coronation. Mary, however, immediately after her accession visited his prison, where this unfortunate young man, together with the Duke of Norfolk, Bishop Gardiner, and the Duchess of Somerset, presented themselves to her on their knees upon Tower Hill, when she kindly raised and kissed them, saying, "these be my prisoners;" and on the third of September, 1558, exactly one month afterwards, restored to him the Earldom of Devonshire, by a new patent of creation, together with such of his father's great estates as had not yet been granted away by the Crown. Prince, in his "Worthies of Devon," and some others, add that the dignity of Marquis of Exeter was also at the same time revived in him, but this is an error.

Mary's benignity towards him has been so generally ascribed by historians to a personal affection that the fact can scarcely be doubted. Fuller, whose words I quote for the sake of conciseness, and who ought never to be quoted unless his account be supported, as it is in great measure in this instance, by the testimony of more cautious writers, tells us, in his "Holy State," that "this most noble young Earl was a person of lovely aspect; of a beautiful body, sweet nature, and royal descent: all which concurring in him, the Queen cast an obliging countenance upon him, and, as it was generally conceived, intended him an husband for herself; of which report hath handed down to us this confirmation: that when the said Earl petitioned the Queen for leave

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to travel, she advised him rather to marry, ensuring him that no lady in the land, how high soever, would refuse him for an husband ; and, urging him to make his choice where he pleased, she pointed herself out unto him as plainly as might consist with the modesty of a maiden, and the majesty of a Queen." Others, with much improbability, add that he was one of the persons recommended to her by her Privy Council among whom to choose a husband. Bishop Godwyn, a historian of deserved credit, and who was then in existence, says, according to Kennett's translation, that " there were three at that time allotted by common fame for her choice · Philip, Prince of Spain ; Cardinal Reginald Pole ; and Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter," (for so the Bishop always styles him). " The two latter had their country, and the splendor of their ancestors, to recommend them ; and there were hopes that under either of them the liberty and privileges of the kingdom would be preserved. Affinity of blood was respected in them all. Pole was much in the Queen's affection for his gravity and holy life, joined with the greatest courtesy and prudence ; and Courtenay for his youth, good humour, and his courtly address ; but some suspicions were raised against the latter as if he favoured the reformation."

The correctness of the report that he had made a tender impression on the heart of Mary is here rather favoured than opposed. Those who have delivered it down to us add, that he treated her advances with indifference, because he was warmly attached to her sister Elizabeth. Burnet seems to have believed the whole, for he says, in the History of the Reformation, " The new Earl of Devonshire was much in her favour, so that it was thought she had some inclinations to marry him ; but he, either not presuming so high, or really having an aversion to her, and an inclination to her sister, who of that moderate share of beauty that was between them had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his addresses with more than ordinary concern to the Lady Elizabeth, and this did bring them

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both into trouble." Sir Thomas Wyatt, on the contrary, when he was taken prisoner, accused the Earl of having engaged in his conspiracy, in resentment of the Queen's having refused to take him for her husband; and of a consequent design to depose her, and obtain the throne by marrying Elizabeth; and upon this charge both the Princess and the Earl were committed to the same prison from which he had been only six months before released. Wyatt, however, when he was led to execution, confessed that he had invented it in the hope of saving his life, and intreated that he might be conducted to the apartment of the Earl of Devonshire, which being permitted, he besought the Earl, on his knees, to pardon the wicked slander which he had falsely uttered. Several respectable writers, following Fox, whose partiality is seldom considered with sufficient caution, say that Gardiner, in his malice to Elizabeth, contrived this interview, and then reported to the Council that Wyatt had solicited it for the purpose of exhorting the Earl to confess his guilt, and that of the Princess. But Wyatt, on the scaffold, (and here I will use not only Fox's words, but his authority, for he durst not have stated falsely what had been so lately proclaimed in the hearing perhaps of thousands), told the people, "Whereas it is noised abroad that I should accuse the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lord Courtenay, it is not so, good people; for I will assure you that neither they, nor any other now yonder in hold, were privy to my rising before I began, as I have declared no less to the Queen and Council, and it is most true."

The Earl was detained in the Tower till the twenty-fifth of May, 1554, when he was removed in the night to Fotheringhay Castle, in Northamptonshire, and there still kept in close imprisonment till the spring of the following year; when Philip, to gain popularity among his new subjects, for the view which we have of his character allows no hope of a better motive, procured the enlargement of the Earl, as well as of the Princess, who was at that time confined in the royal house of Woodstock. The

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miserable Courtenay, conscious that he should ever remain an object of suspicion, made the first use of that liberty which he had so little known to implore the Queen's permission to quit England: which having obtained, he travelled through France and Italy, and at length determined to sit down at Padua, in the fruitless hope of passing there in quiet the remainder of a life which had hitherto been distinguished by the most undeserved and unexampled persecution. Within a few weeks however after his arrival, he was seized by a distemper which, within fourteen days from its first appearance, carried him off, on the fourth of October, 1556, not without strong, and probably well-founded, suspicion of poison, administered at the instigation of emissaries from the land which had given him his ill-fated birth. He was buried in the Church of St. Anthony, in Padua, where a superb monument remains, or lately remained, to his memory, with the following uncouth inscription, which I insert because it affords, from a somewhat singular source, a corroboration of some of the most important circumstances of a story involved in much uncertainty, and frequently disfigured by wilful misrepresentation.

*“ Anglia quem genuit, fueratque habitua patronum,
Corteneum celsa hæc continet arca Ducem
Credita causa necis Regni affectata cupido,
Reginæ optatum tunc quoque connubium
Cui regni proceres non consensere, Philippo
Reginam Regi jungere posse rati
Europam unde fuit juveni peragraræ necesse,
Ex quo mors misero contigit ante diem
Anglia si plorat defuncto principe tanto
Nil mirum, dommo deficit illa pio.
Sed jam Cortenius cælo, fruiturque beatis:
Cum doleant Angli, cum sine fine gemant.
Cortenei probitas igitur, præstantia, nomen,
Dum stabit hoc Templum vivida semper erunt
Anglia hinc etiam stabit, stabuntque Britanni,
Conjugii optati fama perennis erit.
Improba naturæ leges libitina rescindens,
Ex æquo juvenes, præcipitatque senes.”*

EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

The elder male line of the great House of Courtenay became extinct by the death of this young nobleman, and the remains, still considerable, of its vast estates fell by inheritance to the heirs of the four sisters of his great grandfather, who had married into the ancient western families of Tretherf, Arundel of Talverne, Mohun, and Trelawny.

CARDINAL POLE.

REGINALD POLE, a noble example to the age in which he lived, stood almost alone, without acquiring the degree of distinction which he justly merited. The splendor of his birth forbade his mixing with a clergy generally sprung from the most ordinary ranks of the people, and the native candour and generosity of his heart restrained him from taking any share in those secret intrigues, those pious frauds, which were then the venial faults of the rulers of a falling church. He was in a great measure disqualified, not only by the sweetness of his temper, and the politeness of his breeding, but by the large scope of his mind, for controversies in which the most obscure and insignificant subtleties were always discussed with ill nature and ill manners. His aversion to persecution made him a silent and inactive member of those ecclesiastical commissions which in his own country derived credit from his name, and a sincere christian humility, joined to that dignified spirit which ruled his conduct in temporal affairs, detached him from the parties which agitated the Conclave, and besieged the Papal Throne. Thus in his own time more admired than understood ; respected, but not imitated ; and of habits too widely dissimilar from those of others of his own station to admit easily of comparison ; it is rather his character than his history that has been transmitted to posterity. It is the common fate of good counsels that have been rejected, and of worthy examples that have been contemned, to pass in a great measure unrecorded.

The blood of the House of York flowed largely in his veins, and he was doubly related to royalty. He was the fourth and youngest son of Richard Pole, Lord Montague, cousin german to Henry

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the seventh, by Margaret, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the fourth. He is said to have been born in the month of March, 1500, at Stoverton Castle, as Camden informs us, the seat of his father, in Staffordshire. Designated from his earliest infancy for the clerical profession, he was sent at the age of seven years to commence his education with the Carthusians of the monastery of Sheen, in Surrey, and afterwards to the Carmelites of the White Friars, in London, from whence, when about twelve years old, he removed to Oxford, and was entered a nobleman of Magdalen College, where he studied under those eminent scholars, Thomas Linacre, and William Latimer. It is perhaps unimportant to record those steps which may be considered as mere formalities of advancement in one whom power had predestined to fill the highest station in his profession, but we find that on the nineteenth of March, 1517, he was appointed Prebendary of Yoscomb, and on the tenth of April, 1519, of Yatminster Secunda, both in the church of Salisbury; and that he was, about the same time, Dean of Wimbourne Minster in Dorsetshire, and, shortly after, Dean of Exeter. Henry the eighth now sent him, with a large allowance, and a retinue becoming his rank, to Italy, and he settled at Padua, where he was presently surrounded by the ablest and more erudite of that country, and acquired in their society those final graces and refinements of education which even learning can never attain but in the warmth and freedom of good conversation.

Having passed seven years at Padua, Venice, and Rome, he returned home, and, remaining in the court barely long enough to receive the homage which it was eager to pay to his talents and acquirements, modestly retired to a small house at Sheen, where for two years he prosecuted his studies and devotions with severity, and bestowed his hours of relaxation on such of his old Carthusian masters as still survived. He quitted this retreat upon the first rumours of Henry's inclination to dissolve his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, to which he was utterly

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averse, and, in order to avoid the necessity of giving unwelcome advice to the King, by whom he was certain to be consulted on that difficult subject, went to Paris, under the pretence of completing his studies. He was soon however followed thither by the question which Henry, by Cranmer's advice, had determined to lay before all the learned of Europe—"whether it were lawful for a man to marry the widow of a brother, to whom she had borne no issue;" and he was commanded by the King to use his best endeavours to prevail on the French Universities, particularly that of Paris, to answer negatively. He contrived to excuse himself from this employment, and, for the time, to evade giving a direct opinion. The King became displeased; and Pole's family advised him to return to England, and to that simplicity of life which might prevent suspicion. He came accordingly, after a year's absence, and resumed his former habitation at Sheen, where he had scarcely seated himself when Henry, who had now determined to sound the inclinations of the most eminent for power or learning of his own subjects on the question of his divorce, besieged him with emissaries, who pressed him vainly for his concurrence. The See of Winchester, and afterwards that of York, were offered to him as the price of his concession, but he still declined to utter any judgment on the matter, and begged only to be left in peace. His brothers were at last induced to endeavour to move him by representations of the ruin to his family that would inevitably follow his refusal, and with which they had actually been threatened, and his kind nature now gave way. He consented to wait on the King, and to dissemble those scruples which he could not abandon. In his audience he long remained mute; but at length, nobly sacrificing passion to conscience, and safety to sincerity, burst into that flow of powerful argument in which he was so great a master, and finally exhorted the King to desist from his purpose. Henry during their discourse is said frequently to have laid his hand on his dagger. Pole however escaped with no further punishment at that time than

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the loss of favour, and availed himself of this precarious interval of forbearance to solicit the King's permission once more to leave the country.

He now resided for a year at Avignon, and removed from thence to his favourite Padua, where he had not long been before a messenger arrived from Henry, not only again to urge his concurrence in the divorce, but in the greater matter of the King's assumption of the supremacy. As this Prince had already denounced the penalties of high treason against those of his subjects who might oppose that act, it is clear that his meaning was now to reduce Pole to implicit obedience, or virtually to sentence him to banishment. He sent also, under the pretence of argumentative persuasion, a book which had been published in England, by Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, intituled "*Oratio hortatoria ad obedientiam Regis, contra Papam.*" Pole, in answer, declared his total disapprobation both of the divorce, and the separation from the See of Rome, and soon after addressed to the King his large treatise, composed in four months, and subsequently published at Rome, "*Pro Unitate Ecclesiasticâ,*" in which he not only answered the chief points of Sampson's oration, but openly exhorted Henry to return to his obedience to the Pope, and called on the Emperor Charles the fifth to resent the injury done to his aunt, the repudiated Queen. Henry, who, with all his faults, was seldom treacherous, now dissembled his anger, in the double hope of preventing the publication of this book, and of getting the person of the author into his power. He sent therefore, specially by post, a mild message, from which it might have been inferred even that his resolutions were somewhat shaken, requiring Pole to return to England, for the purpose of discussing more at large some particular passages in his treatise, which he answered by a direct refusal, and by a spirited reiteration of his former counsel. It was doubtless of that book, though Strype seems to think that it referred to some other, now unknown, that Cranmer, in a letter which may be found in the appendix to

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Strype's *Life* of that prelate, thus expressed himself to Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire. "As concerning the Kyng his cause," says Cranmer, "Mayster Raynold Poole hathe wrytten a booke moche contrary to the Kyng's purpose; wythe such wytte that it apperith that he myght be, for his wysedome, of the Cownsell to the Kyng's Grace, and of such eloquence, that if it were set forth, and knowne to the comen people, I suppose yt were not possible to persuade them to the contrary." Such was the testimony borne to the talents of this eminent person by his most determined adversary.

The King now proceeded to deprive him of his ecclesiastical preferments, and of the large pension which even to this time he had received, and soon after caused him to be proclaimed a traitor, offering a reward to any who should kill him. The favour of the Court of Rome naturally kept pace with Henry's vengeance, and in January, 1536, Paul the third created him a Cardinal, and soon after appointed him Legate to the Court of France, and afterwards, at the desire, as it should seem, of the Emperor, to Flanders. He had not been long at Paris when he was secretly informed that Henry had written to the French King to deliver him up as a rebel subject, and fled therefore precipitately to Cambray, and from thence to Liege; nor was his mission to the Low Countries more successful, for the Queen Regent, intimidated by the threats of Henry, refused to receive him in his legantine character. He was therefore recalled by the Pope, and travelled through Germany to Rome, from whence he accompanied Paul to Nice; negotiated a peace between the Emperor and Francis the first; and soon after travelled, with all possible privacy, into Spain, and from thence to Paris, to engage those Princes, and others, to abandon their designs against the Turk, and to form a league for the restoration of the ancient faith, and of the papal authority, in England. While these matters were passing, in 1539, Henry, with a savage meanness, wreaked his vengeance on the Cardinal's family. His mother, and two of his three brothers, were brought

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to trial, chiefly on the charge of having corresponded with him, and condemned to die. The younger, Sir Geoffery Pole, wrought on by his fears, was induced to accuse the rest of an incredible design to depose the King, and raise the Cardinal to the throne, and received therefore a pardon, but the Lord Montague suffered death, and his venerable mother, heir of the great House of Plantagenet, after two year's imprisonment, was also brought, at the age of seventy, to the scaffold, where, says Lord Herbert, "being commanded to lay her head on the block, she refused, saying 'so should traitors do, but I am none;' neither did it serve that the executioner told her it was the fashion: so, turning her grey head every way, she told him, if he would have her head, to get it as he could; so that he was constrained to fetch it off slovenly!"

Pole, overwhelmed probably by these domestic miseries, now passed some years nearly in inactivity, and the Pope, anxious to preserve him from Henry's fury, sent him to Viterbo, with the honorary character of Legate. He resided there till 1546, when on the meeting, in the beginning of January, of the Council of Trent, he was deputed thither, with two other Cardinals, to represent the Pontiff. He was obliged by ill health to leave the Council sitting, and to retire again for a time into privacy, and during that interval his great enemy, King Henry, was taken off by death. Paul the third dying in 1549, Pole was twice elected, if it may be so said, to the Popedom. He was opposed by the Cardinals in the French interest, and the first determination of the Conclave in his favour was made amidst tumult and party rage. He refused it therefore as irregular, and not sufficiently deliberate; whereupon his friends reluctantly proceeded to a new scrutiny, and the former election was confirmed, late in the evening of the same day, by a clear majority of voices. They repaired to his apartment to notify it, and to adore him, according to the custom, but he had retired to rest. "He received them with anger," says the translator of that passage in his life, written by his friend Ludovico Baccatelli, "telling them that he would not have a

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thing which was to be feared, rather than desired, carried on tumultuously and rashly, but decently and orderly: That the night was not a proper time: God was a God of light, and not of darkness; and therefore it ought to be deferred till day came." These answers were ill suited to the pride and the vivacity of Italians, and on a third scrutiny, the Cardinal del Monte was elected, and took the name of Julius the third. From that Pontiff, who was Pole's particular friend, he obtained leave to retire from all public concerns at Rome, and seems at that time to have resolved to pass the remainder of his life in a devout seclusion. He fixed his abode at a monastery, in the territory of Verona, where he remained for nearly four years, when the unexpected death of Edward the sixth drew him suddenly from his retirement.

Of Mary's attachment to that form of christianity which Pole so sincerely professed it is unnecessary to speak; and he, above all men, possessed those talents which were best calculated to aid its restoration in England. The Pope therefore, soon after the Queen's accession, nominated him Legate to her Court, and he set out towards London in the end of October, 1554. A slight and ineffectual opposition to his appointment was offered by the Emperor. Some advances had been already made towards a treaty of marriage between his son, Philip of Spain, and the Queen, but it was rumoured that she had betrayed an inclination to bestow her hand on the Cardinal, and well known that a large party in England preferred him to the Spaniard. The marriage with Philip however was soon after celebrated, and Pole arrived in London just upon the meeting of Mary's second Parliament, on the eleventh of November. One of its first acts was to reverse his attainder; the King and Queen paid him the extraordinary compliment of going in person to assent to that single bill; and the Cardinal took his seat among the Peers. In the long catalogue which history furnishes of the triumphs of worldly interests over principle and conscience perhaps no one can be found more remarkable than that which immediately followed,

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and in a single hour suspended the effect of twenty-five years' labour. "A little after his coming," says the translator of Bishop Godwin's history of the reign of Mary, "both Houses being assembled, and the King and Queen being present, the Lord Chancellor having notified the Cardinal's grateful arrival, Pole himself, in his native tongue, made a long speech, full of extraordinary acknowledgements to their Majesties, to the Lords and Commons, by whose favour, his banishment and proscription being repealed, he was restored to the rights and privileges of his native country. 'And the best return,' he said, 'which in duty and gratitude he could make for so great an obligation was this—that, since by the late schism they had become exiles from the unity of the Church, and the kingdom of heaven, he would, by authority from Christ's Vicar, bring them back to the fold, and so restore them to their heavenly inheritance. Therefore he exhorted them ingenuously to acknowledge and detest the errors of the late times, and with sincere alacrity of mind to accept and retain the benefit which God, by the Vicar's Legate, offered to them; for, since he was come with the keys, to open to them the church gates, nothing now remained than, that as they had opened a way for his return, by abrogating the laws which had made him an exile, so they should abrogate all those laws too which, being lately made against the Apostolical See, wholly separated them from the body of the church.'

"After he had made a long harangue," continues the Bishop, "to this effect, and ransacked antiquity to shew how religiously their forefathers were devoted to the See of Rome, the gravity of his countenance, his smooth language, and the elegant method of his discourse, so sensibly affected the devotees of Popery that they believed themselves just then regenerated to the hopes of salvation: yet there were some of the House of Commons who strenuously opposed the submitting again to the Roman yoke; but, in fine, by the pressing instances of the King and Queen, all things were concluded to the Cardinal's satisfaction; the Pope's

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former authority in this realm was restored; and the title of Supreme Head of the Church abrogated from the Crown. A petition for absolving the clergy and laity from the crime of heresy was presented by the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, to the Legate, who pronounced the absolution, in English, to all the Estates, kneeling. After this they went in procession to the Chapel Royal, singing *Te Deum*; and on the Sunday following the Bishop of Winchester in his sermon related the particulars of that day's proceeding."

The Cardinal's soon proved, however, a painful, and indeed but a nominal, preeminence. Mary, gloomy, morose and revengeful, and, as may be feared, in her very nature cruel, was easily led to reject the wise and temperate plans which he seems to have formed, and to set at nought those mild, as well as wise, counsels which would probably have perpetuated the Romish religion in England. Gardiner, barbarous as herself, and with powers of mind which, though of a different cast, were equal to those of Pole, obtained her ear, and laid the foundation of those measures which have rendered her name a blot on the page of history. He regarded Pole too with the jealousy of a rival, and thirsted for the Primacy, vacant by the deprivation of Cranmer, which Mary had designed for the Cardinal, and which he now held in sequestration. In the spirit of hatred which soon arose out of these causes Gardiner intrigued at Rome for the dignity of the Purple, and to induce the new Pope Paul the fourth, of the family of Caraffa, who had been always Pole's bitter enemy, to transfer the legantine character from that Prelate to himself. Gardiner however died while he was eagerly prosecuting these schemes, and three months after, on the fifteenth of February, 1556, the next day after Cranmer's execution, Pole was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. In the mean time the Pope proceeded to deprive him of the office of Legate, and invested another with that character, but Mary refused to admit him into her kingdom, and, after a sharp contest, which she maintained with a becoming

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and laudable spirit, Pole was reinstated. But the hand of death then hovered unseen over the mistress and the servant. He was soon after attacked by a feverish complaint, in which he lingered for several weeks, while Mary also gradually sunk under an unknown malady. She died on the seventeenth of November, 1557, and the Cardinal, whose departure was probably accelerated by receiving the news, survived her exactly sixteen hours. He was buried with great state in the Cathedral of Canterbury, but with no other epitaph than this short inscription, "*Depositum Cardinalis Poli.*"

The productions of Pole's pen, as might be expected, were very numerous. In addition to his book *de Unitate*, which has been mentioned, he addressed to Henry the eighth a defence of that work, and another to Edward the sixth. His other printed writings are "*Reformatio Angliæ, ex decretis Reg. Poli*"—" *De Concilio*"—" *De Baptismo Constantini Imperatoris*"—" *De Summè Pontificis officio et potestate*," and other tracts on that subject—" *Oratio in Materia de Pace*"—" *Oratio ad Imperatorem contra Evangelicos*"—and "*A Treatise of Justification*," with which are printed translations of several small ancient works, chiefly on the same subject. He left also in manuscript, according to Anthony Wood—" *Comment. in Esiam*"—" *Comment. in Davidis Hymnos*"—" *Catechismus*"—" *Dialogus de Passione Christi*"—" *De natali die Christi*"—" *De modo concionandi*"—A Discourse unfinished, addressed to Philip and Mary, of restoring the Goods to the Church—and three Homilies. He had likewise been for several years employed, as we learn from the same authority, in collecting with the greatest care the various readings and emendations of the text of Cicero's works, together with the critical observations of all his learned friends on that author, with the intention of publishing a complete edition. This classical curiosity is it seems totally lost, as are probably most of the rest of his unpublished works.

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THE history of this Princess, who it is scarcely necessary to say was the daughter of Henry the eighth by Catherine of Arragon, and his first-born child, lies within a very narrow compass. Her reign was short, and undistinguished by any remarkable feature either of the State policy, or military fortune, from which the fame of Monarchs is usually derived. Her private life was yet more barren of circumstance, and so her character has remained wholly unknown to us. Could it then have been unfair or rash to conclude, to use a common but homely phrase, that she had no character at all? Surely we might have reasonably argued that had she possessed any one remarkable quality of mind, or shone in any acquired accomplishment, the facts could scarcely have been concealed from us; that the deserts of Princes never want recorders; and that her friends, and partizans, who then covered more than half the face of Europe, had, in addition to all ordinary motives to celebrate her, the powerful incentive of a party spirit the most active and heated, because it was founded in religious zeal. Nor could it have been answered to those remarks that their opponents, who at least equalled them in fury, would certainly not have omitted to publish to the world her deficiencies, for the rejoinder was ready—that doubtless they would, had they been able, but that to them she was unknown and inaccessible. To all this might be fairly added that a living author, of the Catholic Faith, who to every other merit of an historian adds that of perfect candour, inferentially admits the justice of this supposed view of her by confining his report of her qualifications to the remarks that “she understood the Italian, and spoke the French and Spanish languages, knew the Latin, and played well on the lute and the monochord,” without at all

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adverting to her natural talents. These negative presumptions against her, which, in combination, have always had on my mind and on those of most others the effect of proof, have been in a moment dispersed and overthrown by two documents in the very recent publication of "Original Letters" from the British Museum. It is on such evidence only that the truth of history becomes undeniable.

Since the death of her father, incessant efforts had been made, in the name of the young Edward, to induce her to the protestant profession. It was at length determined to deal sternly with her, and on the twenty-eighth of August, 1551, she having some days before addressed to her brother a letter of denial, perhaps in all respects the best epistolary relique extant of the age and land in which she lived, three Privy Counsellors, with the Chancellor Rich at their head, waited on her at her house of Copthall in Essex, once more to argue with her, and, if she continued refractory, to signify to her the King's resolution to prohibit the Mass in her family, and to dismiss her priests, as he had already such of the lay officers of her household as had refused to conform. We have in the very curious collection in question, not only the letter just now alluded to, but the narrative composed by those ministers, at great length, and with minute exactness, of their conversation with her, for the inspection of the King in Council on their return; a conversation in which, alone and unaided, she had to contend with three experienced statesmen on a subject of all others the most important in her estimation to her present welfare, and to her future hopes.

They commenced by delivering to her a letter from her brother, which she knelt to receive, and kissed. "I kiss it," said she, "for the honour of the King's Majesty's hand, and not for the matter contained in it, for that I take to proceed not from his Majesty, but from you his Council." On silently reading it, struck, as it should seem, by some particular passage, she remarked sarcastically, as to herself, "Ah! good Mr. Cecil took much

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pains here." On the Chancellor's beginning to open their instructions, she desired him to be short, "for," said she, "I am not well at ease, and I will make you a short answer." He proceeded to apprise her of the privations to which it was intended to subject her, and was about to inform her who were the counsellors present when the resolutions to that effect were made; but she stopt him short, saying, "I care not for any rehearsal of their names. I know you all to be of one sort therein." Then, having warmly declared her utter obedience and submission to the King, saving her conscience, she added "when the King's Majesty shall come to such years that he may be able to judge these things himself, his Majesty shall find me ready to obey his orders in religion; but now, in these years, although he, good sweet King, have more knowledge than any other of his years, yet it is not possible that he can be a judge of these things: for if ships were to be sent to the seas, or any other thing to be done touching the policy and government of the realm, I am sure you would not think his Highness yet able to consider what were to be done, and much less can he in these years discern what is fit in matters of divinity." After much more conversation on minor points, in which she used the same caution and vivacity in her replies, the Chancellor turned the discourse on the Emperor, to whom she insisted that a promise had been given for her freedom in religion, of which she cited particular proofs, which being controverted by Rich, she became warm, and said "I have the Emperor's hand testifying that this promise was made, which I believe better than all you of the Council; and, though you esteem little the Emperor, yet should you shew more favour to me for my father's sake, who made the more part of you almost of nothing." They then proposed to send some one to supply the place of Sir Robert Rochester, the comptroller of her household, and one of the officers of whom they had deprived her; but she answered that she would appoint her own officers, and if any such man were left there she would "go out of her gates," for they two

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would not dwell in one house. She soon after left them, having first, again on her knees, delivered to the Chancellor a ring for Edward, and they proceeded to give several strict orders to her chaplains, and others about her, and, when in the court, on their departure, Mary called them to a window, and desired them to procure the return of her comptroller; "for," said she, "since his departing I take the accounts myself of my expences, and have learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat; and I wis my father and my mother never brought me up with baking and brewing; and, to be plain with you, I am weary of mine office; and therefore if my Lords will send mine officer home they will do me pleasure; otherwise, if they will send him to prison, I beshrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good will; and I pray God to send you to do well in your souls and bodies too, for some of you have but weak bodies."

Having meant to give incontrovertible proof that the powers of her mind and understanding were of no ordinary class, I forbear to insert the letter which preceded this conversation, because it is possible, even probable, that she might have been largely assisted in the composition of it, or even that it might have been wholly the work of another pen. It is needless to observe that verbal communication admits of no such doubt, and for the genuineness of the Chancellor's narrative, we have the books of the Privy Council, in which the original is recorded. It is then ascertained that Mary possessed prudence, presence of mind, quickness of apprehension, acute feelings, and an undaunted courage; and that she joined to them extensive powers of expression, and a lofty sense of the dignity of her station. What then, when her persecution had ceased, and she had mounted an almost absolute throne, intervened to arrest the exercise of those faculties; to render the whole of her reign inglorious, and even insignificant; and herself, were it not for one lamentable class of exceptions, a cypher in history? Simply an attachment to the faith in which her mother had sedulously bred her, so constant,

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so ardent, so exclusive, as to engross every passion and sentiment, and to cast an impervious veil over her true character. But I have perhaps dwelt too long on this discussion. It is at all events time to glance at the most important parts of the story of her public life.

Mary's reign, historically speaking, commenced on the death of her brother, Edward, on the sixth of July, 1553, but, as the shadow of ephemeral authority which had been forced on Jane Grey by her father and Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and the circumstances which produced its rise and fall, have been so lately and largely treated of in the Memoirs respectively appropriated in this work to those three eminent persons, it will perhaps be better to refer the reader to those Memoirs than to trouble him with an imperfect repetition of the substance of them in this place. Those great events occupied scarcely a month, at the end of which, Mary triumphantly entered London, and may be said to have mounted the throne. She had made no secret of her intention to restore the ancient religion, and the nation therefore, however chagrined, was not disappointed when they saw the Catholic Prelates, the chief of whom had been long prisoners, not only restored to freedom, but to their respective sees. Of these Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a man whose character has been so disguised amidst the furious contention of parties as to leave us nothing certain but that he possessed consummate sagacity, was appointed to the custody of the Great Seal, and chosen by the Queen as her most confidential minister. In the mean time she regulated her conduct in all matters of high importance by the advice of her near kinsman the Emperor Charles the fifth, to whose interference on her behalf she had been much indebted during her late sufferings, and who now granted his good offices with increased alacrity in furtherance of a view which he had conceived of obtaining her hand for his son Philip of Spain. Mary, from policy, as well as dislike to her sister Elizabeth, had resolved, and from the hour of her accession

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declared, her resolution to marry. On whom she should fix her choice had been already the subject of frequent deliberation in her Council. Several foreign Princes had been proposed, and, of her countrymen, Cardinal Pole, who it happened had not been debarred by priest's orders, and the son of the attainted Marquis of Exeter, the young Edward Courtenay, whom on her arrival in London, she had created Earl of Devonshire, and towards whom she had long manifested an evident partiality. Pole was rejected on the score of his too advanced age, and Courtenay is said to have lost her favour through the irregularity of his private life. Previously to these discussions she had secretly solicited the opinion of the Emperor on this important question, and before they had terminated, received his answer, recommending his son, whom she agreed to accept. He advised her also to proceed in the restoration of the old religion with cautious and gentle steps, but here unhappily she was less compliant.

She had however hitherto done no very material public act to that effect, though the reformers had imprudently offered her a pretext by assaulting in the pulpit one of her chaplains who narrowly escaped with his life. This forbearance however was but of short duration. Six Bishops were thrown into prison for impugning the revived Church, and among them the Primate Cranmer, and Ridley, both of whom it is true had added to that offence their earnest endeavours in favour of the title of Jane Grey. The Princess Elizabeth, on whose firmness in the reformed faith the protestants had built their best hopes, now affected to abandon it, and was received into the regal favour. The meeting of Mary's first Parliament was distinguished by the celebration of high Mass before both Houses; their addresses were filled with acknowledgements of the Queen's piety, and their first enactments were an unanimous declaration of the Queen's legitimacy; the annulment of the divorce of her father and mother; and a bill for the resumption of divine service as used at the time of the death of Henry the eighth. The marriage of priests

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was again declared unlawful, and a visitation appointed to enforce the prescribed mode of worship. The return to the church of Rome might therefore be now esteemed nearly complete in all but the acknowledgement of the Pope's supremacy, a faculty less likely to be so readily conceded either by Prince or people. In the meantime the negotiations for the royal marriage proceeded slowly, and were encountered at every step by adversaries, foreign as well as domestic. The English in their dread of the rule of a stranger Prince, forgot for a while their religious dissensions, and many of Mary's most zealous friends, even in her Council, with Gardiner at their head, strongly opposed the match, while Henry the second of France, the inveterate rival of the Emperor, used the most subtle agents to intrigue against it in London. The House of Commons voted an address, beseeching her to prefer an English consort, but her determination was unalterable, and, it is even said, that on the same evening she sent secretly for the Imperial Ambassador into her private oratory, and in his presence affianced herself to Philip at the foot of the Altar. Shortly after, she dissolved the Parliament.

The public annunciation of the marriage, which soon followed, was the signal for that extensive, but ill planned and worse executed enterprise known by the name of Wyatt's insurrection. Whether it was undertaken with Elizabeth's knowledge is one among many mysterious questions which it involved, and which will probably never be satisfactorily answered. Certain however it is that she was suspected, imprisoned, and closely questioned on it, and that the Queen thenceforward withdrew from her almost all appearance of kindness. She is said to have been spared from a public trial at the intercession of Gardiner.

A Parliament was now called, which proved less complaisant than its predecessor. It ratified without scruple the treaty for the Queen's marriage, but rejected almost all other measures proposed by the ministers, among which were bills for enabling the Queen to dispose of the Crown by her will; for the revival

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of the dreaded Six Articles; and of the ancient laws against the Lollards. Mary therefore dissolved it at the end of one month, and prepared with much anxiety for the arrival of her consort, who, after long and apparently unnecessary delays, arrived, and was received by her with a fondness which it soon became evident was irksome to him. He was presently followed by Pole, in the character of Legate; another Parliament was assembled; and now the reconciliation to the See of Rome was consummated by a number of laws, the most important of which was for the restoration to the Pope of the ecclesiastical supremacy. It had been contemplated even to re-invest the Church with the estates of which it had been deprived by the reformation, and the proposal would have been made to this Parliament but for the prudence of Gardiner.

The Queen seemed now nearly to have attained to the height of her wishes, and, to crown her satisfaction, imagined herself to be pregnant. Her consort, if deficient in genuine tenderness, used at present towards her that scrupulous attention which in highly bred persons so nearly resembles it that only the most refined sentiment can make the distinction. He had successfully courted popularity by several acts of beneficence, in particular by procuring the release of Elizabeth from confinement, and the prejudices against him seemed to wear gradually away. Mary however was not yet content. She had the misfortune to live in an age, when the cruel punishment of offenders against any mode of faith which had acquired a distinct denomination seems to have been considered by the professors of that faith as a religious duty, for all agreed in inflicting it. Her temper too, which is said not to have been of the best, was perhaps somewhat disposed to revenge, and the reformers had not spared provocation. She unhappily determined to put into execution some penal laws with which her new Parliament had lately armed her. Of her two chief counsellors in ecclesiastical affairs, Pole is said to have dissuaded, Gardiner to have urged her forward. A

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persecution, truly so called, of the protestants ensued, from the detail of which, as it is perhaps more generally known than that of any other prominent part of our history, I wholly forbear, observing only that in it's progress two hundred and seventy-seven persons of various ranks, among whom five were Bishops, are reckoned to have perished at the stake, not to mention multitudes who were punished by fine, imprisonment, or confiscation.

Mary's supposed pregnancy now proved to be no more than a manifestation of disease, and her consequent vexation was aggravated by the immediate departure for Flanders of Philip, whom she had for some months past with difficulty persuaded to remain with her till after her expected delivery. Her affection for him was so extravagant that it seemed but to increase in proportion to his growing indifference, of which she had now frequent proofs. The celebrated resignation of his father at this precise period had made him the most powerful and wealthy Monarch in Europe, but, instead of imparting to her any share of his advantages, he suffered her to fall into necessities, and to disgrace herself by acts of rapacity for relief. He refused or neglected her most trifling requests, and seldom deigned even the courtesy of replying to her fond letters. The death of Gardiner, not long after Philip left her, filled up the measure of her chagrin, and she fell into a deep melancholy. She had however still strength of mind enough to struggle faintly against it. She plunged into public business; made many requests of the Commons, which were either refused, or granted only in part; and dissolved another Parliament. She re-established and endowed several religious Houses; and devoted herself with encreased earnestness to the restoration of her religion. A plot to depose her, and to place Elizabeth on the throne, was now discovered, and two of the conspirators were officers of the household of the Princess. Elizabeth, once more in danger, was again saved by the interference of Philip, to whom since the recent marriage of the Dauphin to Mary Queen of Scots, who stood next to her in

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succession to the English Crown, her life had become peculiarly valuable. The King of France, who had included Mary in his hatred to Spain, was discovered to have been privy to this conspiracy, as well as to various schemes by Mary's self-banished protestant subjects, for surprising some of the English garrisons on the French coast, and to a late impotent invasion by them on the coast of Yorkshire. Philip, long desirous to chastise him, took the advantage of his consort's irritation at these injuries to persuade her to join him in a war against France, and for that purpose made her once more a visit, which she had been long vainly soliciting.

Mary and her Council readily agreed to the proposal. A powerful English Fleet presently ranged itself on the French coast, and seven thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, were dispatched to join Philip's army, which, in the very opening of the campaign, gained the signal victory of St. Quintin, where the celebrated old Constable de Montmorency, who commanded in chief, and many other of the prime nobility of France, fell into the hands of the conquerors. This event was so unexpected, and, on many accounts, so important, that the news was received at Paris not only with deep regret, but even with terror. Great exertions were made to prepare that capital itself for an attack, and the King dispatched orders to the Duke of Guise to return instantly from Italy, with the army which he commanded there. He came, and exacted from Mary a heavy retribution indeed for the share which she had taken in the infliction of the late disgrace on his country. By a series of artifices, planned and executed with the most profound military skill of his time, he enabled himself to appear most unexpectedly before Calais, while a number of ships which were cruising on the Coast, apparently for the purpose of watching the motions of the English at sea, collected together at an appointed time, and attacked it on that side. Military history has few examples of a surprise at once so sudden and so successful; and thus was

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lost to England in eight days, in the depth of winter, that important fortress, with its valuable dependencies, which she had held for two centuries, not less to the gratification of her national pride than to the service of her public interests.

Mary, who had been long afflicted with dropsy, was gradually sinking when this sad event happened. It afflicted her most severely, and is said to have hastened her dissolution. This report however probably arose from the well-known observation which she uttered on her death-bed, that if her breast were opened, the word "Calais" would be found written on her heart, for she survived till the seventeenth of November, 1558, ten months after the occurrence of the misfortune.

WILLIAM, FIRST LORD PAGET.

THE character of this eminent Statesman was drawn about sixty years after his death by a writer who sometimes sacrificed the sacred veracity of biography to his love of that forcible and terse method of expression in which he excelled, and whom therefore I never quote, unless his assertions can be supported by the genuine evidence of history. "His education," says Lloyd, "was better than his birth, his knowledge higher than his education, his parts above his knowledge, and his experience beyond his parts. A general learning furnished him for travel, and travel seasoned him for employment. His masterpiece was an inward observation of other men, and an exact knowledge of himself. His address was with state, yet insinuating; his discourse free, but weighed; his apprehension quick, but stayed; his ready and present mind keeping its pauses of thoughts and expressions even with the occasion and the emergency; neither was his carriage more stiff and uncompliant than his soul." The eulogist might have added, without hazard of contradiction, that a more faithful and honest minister never existed.

He owed nothing to the influence either of ancestry or wealth, but sprang from a very private family in Staffordshire, from whence his father, a native of Wednesbury, in that county, migrated to London, and obtained there the office of Serjeant at Mace in the corporation. William, his eldest son, the subject of this memoir, was born in that city in 1506, and commenced his education in St. Paul's school, under the celebrated Lilly, from whence he was removed to Trinity Hall, in Cambridge. At this early period of his life, the foundation of his future eminence was laid. By some means, long since forgotten, he became known

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to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, perhaps not only the first scholar, as well as the most acute statesman of his time, but a zealous cultivator also of those more elegant branches of literature which were then little professed in England. He was received into the family of that prelate, and, after a time, sent under his auspices to complete his education in the University of Paris, from whence he returned again into the Bishop's house. Bred under the wing of Gardiner, it is not strange that he should have contracted a strong attachment to the ancient faith of his country. He practised it, under all the extraordinary varieties of its fortune which distinguished his time, with inflexible constancy, but with a mildness and moderation towards its opponents which marked the goodness of his heart.

In 1530, then but at the age of twenty-four, the King, doubtless through the recommendation of Gardiner, sent him into France, to collect the opinions of the most learned and experienced jurists of that kingdom on the great question of the proposed divorce, and rewarded him on his return with the appointment of a Clerk of the Signet, which was afterwards confirmed to him for his life. He seems to have been no otherwise employed till 1537, when he was dispatched, with great privacy, into Germany, to foment the discord which then subsisted between the Emperor and the Protestant Princes, and to endeavour to persuade them to refer their differences to the mediation of Henry, and the King of France. In 1541 the offices of Clerk of the Privy Council, and Clerk of the Signet, were conferred on him, as was soon after that of Clerk of the Parliament for life; in the following year he was sent ambassador into France; and in 1543, in which year he was knighted, was appointed one of the two principal Secretaries of State. His distinguished skill, however, in foreign diplomacy confined him chiefly to that line of public service during the remainder of Henry's reign. In the summer of 1545 he negotiated, in concert with the Chancellor Wriothesley, and the Duke of Suffolk, the

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terms of the marriage of the Princess Margaret to Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, and many other important matters relative to Scotland, and was soon after joined in commission with the Earl of Hertford to manage that treaty with France which, for the time, was rendered fruitless by the French King's positive demand of the restitution of Boulogne. In the succeeding June, however, the peace was concluded, chiefly under his direction. Henry, who survived that important act but for a few months, appointed Sir William Paget an executor to his Will, and one of the council to his minor successor.

The strict intimacy and confidence in which he had long lived with the Earl of Hertford, uncle to the young King, and now Protector of him, and of the realm, opened to him a new channel of favour. He was chosen a Knight of the Garter on Edward's accession, and soon after resigned his office of Secretary of State, and was appointed Comptroller of the Royal Household, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: a singular exchange, which we may probably ascribe to the inconvenient interruptions to the duties of a Secretary of State which must have arisen from his frequent nomination to foreign missions. He was in fact dispatched within very few months to the Emperor, in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary, to persuade that Prince to join in an alliance against France, and, though the negotiation wholly failed, left that court with a splendor of general reputation which perhaps no other foreign minister in any time has enjoyed. Of this we have abundant proof in the letters of Sir Philip Hoby, then Resident Ambassador there, extracts from which may be found in *Stripe's Memorials*; and Lloyd, the writer lately quoted, tells us that Charles "once cried, in a rapture, that he deserved to be a King, as well as to represent one;" and, one day, as he came to court, "yonder is the man I can deny nothing to." A short extract from one of his letters to the Protector during his embassy, which is preserved in the *Harleian MSS.* while it lets us somewhat into the character of his mind, seems to

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prove that he could not have purchased much of his favour at the Court of Brussels by flattery. After having recited much at large some former conferences with the Emperor's ministers, he says—

“ ——— The day following d'Arras, accompanied w^t Mons^r St. Maurice, came to my lodging, and, albeit I was the day before somewhat moved, yet, hoping thei had brought some resolution, I quieted myself; and after salutac^õns, and wordes of office, I beganne to give ear what thei wolde say; when sodainly d'Arras, after a great circumstance, and many goodly painted wordes, entred th'excuse of my longe abode here w^tout answere to my charge, w^{ch} he affirmed was occasioned by th' Emp^{or}'s busines abowte the Prince's swearing in thies townes; and praied us therefore on his Ma.^{te}'s behalf, to take pacience untill his coming to Brusselles, when, without faile, he said I sholde be dispatched. W^{ch} when I hearde, and p^{ce}ving, in steade of the resoluc^õn and answer that I looked for, to be only fed w^t faire wordes, I must confesse unto yo^r Grace I colde not keepe pacience, but, being entred somewhat into coler, answered him that I was now here at th' Emp^{or}'s will and com^ãndme^t: He might stay me as long as it liked him, and dispache me when he liste: But, q^d I, were I once at home, I know that neither the King's Ma.^{ty} wold sende me hither, nor I, for my part, to wyne an hundredth thousande crownes, come againe abowte eine' like matter, considering how coldly the same hitherto proceeded; and suerly I am sorie that either ye sholde judge me so voide of wit that I colde not perceive wherunto this childishe excuse tendeth, or occasion me to suppose you so much w^tout considerac^õn as to thinke I colde be brought to beleave that the Prince's swearing colde be eine' delay to the answering of thies things that I am come hither for; a matter easie inogh to be perceaved of such as never had einé experience of the worlde, etc. Hereunto d'Arras very coldly answered that, in good faythe, the cause of my staye, whatsoever I thought, was onely such as he had shewed me, and therefore

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praised me not to conceive any other opinion; for I assure you, q^d he, the Emp^{or} beareth the King, his good brother, asmuche affec[~]eon as if he were his sonn, and wolde gladly ayde and assiste him in all things to the uttermost that he maye conveniently: But, q^d he, thies matters are weightie, and require to be answered unto w^t deliberac[~]on. Yf thei seemed as weightie unto you as ye speake, q^d I, I cannot judge but ye wolde er this time have spied out some time to answeere unto them; and, as for th' Emp^{or}'s assistance, my M^r requyrethe it not ciné other waies then shall appere to be requisite and beneficiall for both parties; and therefore, if the occasion of this long dely be uppon einé other considerac[~]on then ye have yet declared unto us, I wolde wishe ye delte like frendes, and opened the same frankely: and I knowe, q^d I, that thies matters were concluded before Mons^r G.'s departure, w^{ch} maketh me more to muse why ye sholde so longe stay from making reaport of yo^r answeere," &c.

On his return from Brussels he was called by writ to the House of Peers, by the title of Baron Paget, of Beaudesert, in Staffordshire, and was immediately after appointed a commissioner to treat for the accommodation of new differences which had arisen between England and France. But the feud between the Protector and Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, which had long divided Edward's court and council, had now risen to its height, and the former sunk under the boldness and the artifices of his mighty adversary. Lord Paget necessarily, for such was the custom of the time, shared in the misfortune of his friend. He was committed to the Fleet Prison on the twenty-first of October, 1551, and some weeks after, removed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner, without a cause assigned, for five months, at the end of which he was divested of the Order of the Garter, on the ground of insufficiency of blood; charged with corruption and embezzlement in his office of the Duchy; and sentenced in the star-chamber to a fine of six thousand pounds. These severities had no other object than to terrify the small remnant of the

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Protector's party into obedience till the power of the Duke of Northumberland should be firmly settled; for in December, 1552, Lord Paget obtained a general pardon, with the exception only of debts to the King, which was inserted but to save appearances, for it should seem that the fine with which he had been most unjustly charged was almost wholly remitted. It remained, however, to Mary to restore to him the Garter, which was done with great ceremony, at a chapter of the order held at St. James's, on the twenty-seventh of September, 1553, six weeks after she mounted the throne, when it appears to have been for the first time admitted, certainly to the honour of the order, that no objection on the score of birth ought to be allowed to supersede the claims of transcendent personal merit.

Mary, indeed, could not but have been prompted to favour him, equally by her interests and her prejudices. He had appeared among the first to assert her disputed title to the throne, and had hastened to her presence to give her the earliest notice of her having been proclaimed Queen in London. He had been persecuted by her bitterest enemies, and was distinguished by the most stedfast adherence to that faith the maintenance of which was unhappily the first object of her life. She received him into her utmost confidence. He was appointed to manage the treaty of her marriage with Philip of Spain; was sent Ambassador, immediately after, to the Emperor, his father, to agitate certain points tending to the re-establishment of the Papal authority in England; and, soon after his return, was appointed Lord Privy Seal. Though a warm advocate for the Spanish match, which indeed had been chiefly planned by himself and his old friend Gardiner, he entertained a becoming jealousy of Philip, and expressed it, when necessary, with a bold and honourable frankness. That Prince, who undoubtedly meditated by marrying Mary to make himself master of England, had applied to the Parliament, when she was supposed to be pregnant, for an act to constitute him Regent till the child should be of age to

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govern; and proposed to give security for his surrender of the Regency when that period might arrive. The motion, which had been largely debated in the House of Peers, was likely to be carried, when Lord Paget suddenly rose, and said, "Pray who shall sue the King's bond?" These few words changed the temper of the House, and it was negatived.

On the accession of Elizabeth he withdrew himself voluntarily from the public service. That Princess, says Camden, "entertained an affection and value for him, though he was a strict zealot of the Romish Church." After six years of retirement, he died on the ninth of June, 1563, and was buried, according to the direction of his will, at Drayton, in Middlesex. Fuller, who is frequently incorrect, informs us that he was very aged, but the inscription on a superb monument erected to his memory in Litchfield Cathedral, which was destroyed in the general wreck of the interior of that church in the grand rebellion, states, according to a copy preserved in the family of Hatton, that he died in his fifty-eighth year.

Lord Paget married Anne, daughter and heir of Henry Preston, a descendant of the house of Preston, of Preston, in Yorkshire, by whom he had four sons, and six daughters. Henry, the eldest, died without issue, having only for five years enjoyed his father's dignity and estates, which then fell to Thomas, the second son, lineal ancestor of the present Earl of Uxbridge. That nobleman, together with his next brother, Charles, was deeply engaged in the cause of the Queen of Scots, and was attainted in 1587, and restored by James, immediately on his accession. Edward, the fourth son, died young. For the daughters, Etheldreda was married to Sir Christopher Allen; Joan, to Sir Thomas Kitson; Anne, to Sir Henry Lee; Eleanor, first to Jerome Palmer; secondly, to Sir Rowland Clerk; Dorothy, to Thomas, a son of Sir Henry Willoughby, of Wollaton, in Nottinghamshire; and Grizel, first to Sir Thomas Rivet, and then to Sir William Waldegrave.

EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH.

EDWARD NORTH, the founder of a house in which it is difficult to find a single individual undistinguished by wisdom or wit, or stained by any memorable fault or error, was the only son of Roger North, a younger brother of a respectable family, which had seated itself in the reign of Edward the fourth at Walkingham, in Nottinghamshire, by Christian, daughter of Richard Warcup, of Sconington, in Kent, and was born about the year 1496. He lost his father, who was in some mercantile profession, and seems to have been an inhabitant of London, in 1509, and, probably because he was too young to follow the same calling, was placed in a course of studies to qualify him for the practice of the law, which he finished at Peter-house, in the University of Cambridge. He soon acquired a considerable reputation at the bar, and was appointed, while yet a very young man, advocate for the city of London. It is very likely that his interest with that corporation might have been forwarded by an alderman of the name of Wilkinson, who had married one of his sisters; and still more probable that he was first introduced to the ministers of Henry the eighth by Thomas Burnet, Auditor of the Exchequer, who was the husband of another. However this might have been, it is certain that in 1531 he was made one of the two joint Clerks of the Parliament, an office then of such respectability that it was frequently held in that reign by men of the first rank in public employment. Four years afterwards he was called to the station of one of the King's Sergeants at law; in 1541 resigned his clerkship of the Parliament, and was appointed Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations; and in the following year was knighted, and elected a representative for the County of Cambridge.

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The Court of Augmentations was a temporary establishment instituted upon the dissolution of religious houses, and was so named from the augmentation of the income of the Crown by the assumption of their property, of all matters concerned in which it had the superintendence. The most consummate integrity, and the most vigilant application, were requisite in those who were to receive suddenly this enormous influx of various wealth, and to methodize and direct a new system of revenue. For the performance of these duties Henry chose Sir Edward North, and in 1545 nominated him to the office of Chancellor of that Court, jointly with Sir Richard Rich, on whose resignation, a few months after, the sole jurisdiction devolved on him. He was now called to the Privy Council, and distinguished by a degree of favour and confidence enjoyed by very few of Henry's servants in those years of caprice and cruelty which closed that Prince's reign. Indeed his character and temper seem to have well qualified him to deal with the extravagances of such a master, for his prudence was perhaps of the sort usually called worldly wisdom, and his compliance approached to servility ; but those faults appear to have been the consequences rather of a timid than a selfish disposition, since there is good reason to believe that his public conduct was eminently disinterested, and his honesty was not only unimpeached, but unsuspected. Had his conscience been less nice, or his nature more daring, he might have amassed immense wealth : he contented himself however with the fair emoluments of his office, and with grants, comparatively to no great amount, of abbey lands. Henry left him a final token of esteem by appointing him one of the executors of his will, and a counsellor to the infant Edward.

In the short reign of that Prince he remained a wary and passive observer of the party contests by which it was agitated ; and when the King's death produced a crisis in which no man of his degree could stand neuter, he espoused the pretensions to the Crown which had been forced on the unfortunate Jane Grey, and

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was one of the Privy Counsellors who signed a letter to Mary, declaring their allegiance to her unwilling rival. For some reason of policy however, long since forgotten, Mary, on her accession to the throne, not only received him into her Privy Council, but on the seventeenth of February, 1553, O. S. the first year of her reign, summoned him to Parliament, by the title of Baron North of Kirtling, now called Catlage, in the County of Cambridge, which till that period he had continued to represent in the House of Commons. In this and the following reigns we find him also rather in the character of a courtier than a statesman. That Elizabeth held him in some degree of favour is proved by her having conferred on him, in her second year, the office of Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely, but she employed him in no other public capacity..

He was now verging on old age, and in declining health. On the twentieth of March, 1564, O. S. he made his will, and here, as in all the rest, left abundant proof of the caution which seems to have been the leading feature of his character, by the creation of an entail, equally remarkable, considering the custom of his time in such matters, for its strictness and extent; for the terms in which it is expressed; and for his exhortations to his heir "to beware of pride, and prodigal expences." The same spirit directed him in matrimonial choice. His first wife, whom he married when a young man, was the widow of two husbands, but very wealthy; Alice, daughter of Oliver Squyer, of Southby, in Hampshire, who had been first married to Edward, son of Sir John Myrffin, an Alderman of London, and, secondly, to John Brigadin, of Southampton: His second, who survived him till 1575, was even in her third widowhood; Margaret, daughter of Richard Butler, of London; who, as we are informed by her epitaph in the chancel of St. Laurence Jewry, had been successively wife to Andrew Francis; Robert Chartsey, an Alderman; and Sir David Brooke, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. By her he had no issue; but his first Lady brought him two sons, and two daughters:

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Roger, his successor, a nobleman of distinguished high spirit and bravery; and Sir Thomas, who was bred a lawyer, but is better remembered as the translator of Plutarch's *Lives*, Guevara's *Horologium Principum*, and for other literary labours. The daughters were Christian, married to William Somerset, third Earl of Worcester; and Mary, to Henry, Lord Scroope of Bolton. Lord North died, at his house in the Charter-house, London, on the thirty-first of December, 1564, and was buried in the chancel of the parish Church of Kirtling, or Catlage.

Some account of the life of this nobleman was written, "sensibly, and in a good style," as Lord Orford observes, and published by his great great grandson, Dudley, fourth Lord North. From that small work, which is composed with the pardonable partiality of a descendant, I will give a short extract, which points to the portrait here engraved, and furnishes some circumstances which ought to have a place in this memoir. "By his picture," says Dudley, "whereof there is yet a copy remaining, he appears to have been a person of a moderate stature, somewhat inclined to corpulency, and a reddish hair. As to his character, it can only appear from what has been said of him; and his letters shew he rather affected the delivery of a full and clear sense than any curiosity of style or expression. The bravery of his mind may be best judged of by his delight to live in an equipage rather above than under his condition and degree; and by his magnificence in buildings, which were very noble for materials and workmanship, as may appear by the two houses he set up at Kirtling and Charter-house. His piety, charity, and love of learning, is evident from his bestowing the parsonage of Burwell on the University of Cambridge, as also the vicarage of Burwell; and to Peterhouse, the ancientest College of that University, as a token of gratitude for what he gathered there in the way of learning, the parsonage of Ellington. He provided chapels in such houses he built, which shews a desire in him of an assiduity in the service of God by himself and family; which care of providing peculiar

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places for divine service within families was too much neglected in the following age, as may be witnessed by many great and stately houses then built. He also built a chapel for the interment of his posterity, adjoining to the south part of the chancel in Kirtling Church ; for, though the main superstition was expired, yet burials in those days were attended with the performance of much religious duty."

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It would be impertinent, especially in such a work as this, to endeavour to treat the story of this weak and insignificant young man's life with historical or political exactness. All the public importance which belonged to him fell on him as by reflection, and, although he was the first cause of several great events, he was an active instrument in none. Suddenly raised to an empty regal title by a passion which did not deserve the name of love; doated on, despised; the object at once of idolatry, and of fear and jealousy; without judgement to ward off the dangers with which the perverseness of his fate surrounded him, and without temper to bear the contempt to which the imbecility of his character exposed him; as he rose without merit, so he fell unpitied, and, but for collateral circumstances, would have been long since wholly forgotten.

He was of royal descent, and nearly enough related both to Elizabeth and Mary to awaken and justify the caution and vigilance of each. His father was Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox; his mother, Margaret, daughter to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, by Queen Margaret, sister of our Henry the eighth, who married that nobleman soon after the death of her first husband, James the fourth of Scotland. Lennox, when a young man, had been compelled to take refuge in the Court of Henry by the fury of the Hamilton faction, from whose head, the Duke of Chatelherault, he had attempted to wrest the regency of Scotland in the early infancy of Mary. The illustrious match which he made there, and the distractions of his own country, where he was

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attainted, had detained him for many years in England, and there his eldest son, Henry, was born and educated. Elizabeth, on her accession, found this distinguished family quietly seated in her dominions, and treated them with an urbanity and respect in the motives to which her policy with regard to Scotland was not overlooked. The prime object of that policy at the period of which we are about to speak was the prevention of the marriage of Mary, and she pursued it with the dissimulation and artifice which invariably marked her conduct towards that unhappy Princess. She affected to press for it, even with anxiety, and, among those whom she proposed to Mary, as worthy of her hand, was Lord Darnley, for by that title, one of his father's, Henry was then designated.

Mary had long endeavoured, and very prudently, to gain the friendship of the family of Lennox: she lent therefore a willing ear to this recommendation. Lennox and his son obtained Elizabeth's permission to visit Scotland, and in the month of February, 1565, waited on Mary, then on a progress in the shire of Fife, at Wemyss. She had never before seen Darnley. He was in the twenty-first year of his age; a pattern of masculine beauty both in face and person, and accomplished to perfection in all the niceties of artificial politeness. She beheld him in the instant with all the infatuation of a doating lover; determined almost as suddenly to give him her hand; and presently intimated to her Court a resolution of which her conduct towards the youthful stranger had already in some measure apprized them. The match however was delayed by various circumstances. Elizabeth now opposed it even with fury; dispatched a mandate for Darnley's instant return; and chastised his disobedience to it by seizing his father's English estates, and imprisoning his mother and brother, who had remained in London. The most powerful among the protestant Peers of Scotland, at her incitement, conspired to possess themselves by violence of his person; were discovered; and fled into England before a military force.

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It was necessary too to obtain the approbation of the main body of the Scottish nobility, and some time was lost in their deliberations, and much more in the result of them—the sending to Rome for a dispensation, the parties being within the prohibited degrees of kindred. These obstacles however were finally removed, and on the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth of July they were married, and on the following day publicly proclaimed, by the styles of Henry, and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland.

Mary, deeply enamoured as she was, could not have been wholly insensible of Darnley's defects. It is even possible that the very contemplation of them increased her anxiety to hasten her marriage. Determined at all events to possess him, she dreaded perhaps that himself might prevent it by some act of folly or violence too gross to admit of extenuation, and suffered herself to be deluded by the excess of her passion into the vanity of believing that her influence in the joint relations of a Queen, a wife, and a lover, might in future restrain such excesses. He had already fallen into serious errors. Several of the prime nobility had been disgusted by his insolent anticipation of the airs of royalty; he had joined a faction against the Earl of Murray, Mary's illegitimate brother, and the leader of the Scottish reformers, whose good will it was peculiarly important to him to cultivate; and in the mean time had disgraced himself by forming a strict intimacy with Mary's secretary for French affairs, the Italian Rizzio, a man of mean birth and habits, whom her imprudent favour had rendered an object of indignant jealousy in the Court, as well as of popular hatred; he had betrayed a temper even ferocious, in drawing his dagger on a nobleman sent to apprise him that the Queen, in order to temporize with Elizabeth, wished to defer for a while his creation of Duke of Albany, a royal title to which she raised him shortly before their marriage.

The short civil war which, at the instigation of Elizabeth, the exiled protestant Peers returned to raise, presently followed the

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nuptials. It had little concern with Henry's barren story beyond the simple fact that he was the incidental and passive cause of it. Mary's complete success in the issue of it afforded him a triumph over the House of Hamilton, the ancient enemies of his family, peculiarly gratifying to such a mind as his, and when the Duke of Chatelherault, who had been among the subdued malcontents, humbly sued for a pardon, he opposed it with furious vehemence, and prevailed on the Queen to qualify it by compelling the Duke to reside in France. Mary's condescension in this, and other affairs, served but to increase his desire of powers which he was incapable to wield. They had been married scarcely three months when he beset her with incessant importunities that he might be declared to possess the Crown Matrimonial, an obscure phrase, peculiar to the Scottish regal law, which denoted however a degree of authority nearly co-ordinate with that of the reigning princess. This it was not in Mary's power to confer but jointly with the Parliament, the consent of which it would have been dangerous to ask, yet he could not brook the disappointment. Domestic quarrels followed. He neglected her person; avoided her society; and fell into unbecoming vices, while that insuperable anger which flows peculiarly from ill-requited love took full possession of her breast, and it was only her contempt of his weakness that spared him from her pure hatred. The short space of seven months sufficed to produce and consummate this excess of contrary passions in the mind of Mary.

The King, unable to act, or at least to think, for himself, soon felt the inconvenience of these commotions. He sought for advice, or rather for support, in the counsels of Rizzio, and was met by cold remonstrances on his own misconduct. No great measure of craft was necessary to induce that foreigner to adopt a course so generally reasonable, as well as so evidently suited to the maintenance of his own interests. Henry however conceived the most rancorous enmity towards him, and presently found

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himself unexpectedly at the head of a party whose support he could have little right to expect, and whose attachment to him could scarcely be sincere. It consisted of the Chancellor Morton, and several other powerful Peers, most of them related to him in blood, and all offended by the disappointment, which they ascribed to his weakness or negligence, of that rule in the affairs of Scotland which they had expected to found on his marriage. He readily accepted them as friends, and in the gratification of making him an instrument in the destruction of Rizzio, they forgot for the time their resentment towards himself. They spared no arguments to mortify his pride, or to increase his anger. They aggravated the extent of the Italian's influence in public affairs, and his own insignificance, which they represented as a necessary consequence of that influence. They asserted that he owed to Rizzio's intrigues and malice the denial to him of the Crown Matrimonial. They raised at length in him that maddening flame which of all others is the most easily kindled in the weakest minds—they persuaded him that Mary was unfaithful to his bed, and that Rizzio was her paramour. Thus excited, Henry proposed, or at least eagerly agreed, that he should be taken off by assassination. A treaty was regularly concluded between the King and the rest, by which they promised him the Crown Matrimonial, and the independent succession to the Throne, should he outlive the Queen, while he engaged to avow himself, should it become necessary, the author of the conspiracy, and to protect those who had undertaken to act in it.

The evening of the ninth of March, 1566, was appointed for the consummation of the bloody enterprise, and never was murder perpetrated with more savage ferocity, nor marked by stronger proofs of national barbarism. It was known that Rizzio was to sup with the Queen, who was now in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and Henry was anxious that he should die in her presence. The Chancellor Morton personally headed the band

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of soldiers who secured the avenues to the palace, and the King himself led the assassins into Mary's chamber. To compleat the horror of the preparations, Lord Ruthven, the King's uncle, who was appointed to strike the first blow, had risen for that purpose from his bed, where he had been long confined by dangerous illness, and followed Henry, led by two men, and covered with armour, except his face, in which a pallid ghastliness was enlivened only by gleams of furious expression. On their entrance, Rizzio started from his seat, and clung to the person of the Queen, behind whose chair Henry, silent and irresolute, had taken his station; but Ruthven, drawing his dagger, commanded his followers to tear the devoted victim from his sanctuary, and, in dragging him into the adjoining room, he perished, pierced by fifty-six wounds. Murray, and his exiled companions, who had been previously apprized of the murderous plan, entered Edinburgh triumphantly on the following day, and Mary was compelled not only to receive them with an affected complacency, but also to admit into her presence Morton and Ruthven, and to promise them a pardon on their own terms.

Incredible as it may seem, such was the address of Mary, and the weakness and perfidy of her consort, that even on the succeeding day, the eleventh of March, she persuaded him to quit the capital privately with her, and to break all the engagements by which he had so lately bound himself to her enemies. They fled to Dunbar, situated in a country deeply devoted to her, and were presently surrounded by a formidable military host, at the head of which they returned towards Edinburgh, Henry, on the way, issuing proclamations in which he disavowed all knowledge of the late enormity, and denounced vengeance against the assassins, who had already again fled into England, then, as still, the land of certain refuge for foreign public offenders. This treachery, however, though used against those whom she detested, served but to increase the odium in which she already held him. Once more in a state of comparative security, she

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stripped him of all authority, estranged herself almost entirely from his society, and abandoned him with manifest indifference to the company of some almost unknown persons in whose debaucheries he had been used to share. His resentment was at length roused, and the proofs which he gave of it were such as might have been expected from him, fraught with childish folly, caprice, and indecision. He endeavoured to interest foreign potentates in his behalf, besought them to receive him into their dominions, and was neglected by them. He refused to be present at the pompous baptism of his son, and endeavoured to enrage the Queen by other petty insults. In the mean time Mary's heart, if it may be so said, declared for a new favourite, James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, a man whose character had no point of resemblance to that of her husband but one—a total want of principle. With him, painful as it is to be obliged to reject all doubt on such a subject, it cannot be reasonably denied that she concerted the means of depriving Henry of life.

The King had for many weeks resided at Stirling, neglected and almost in solitude, when a rumour suddenly reached him of a design to imprison him. He fled instantly towards Glasgow, where his father was at the time, and was seized on his way thither by a distemper so violent as to render his case for many days utterly hopeless. Mary, by whom he had never been visited during this extremity, on his amendment, and arrival at Glasgow, flew thither, with every profession and appearance of conjugal tenderness; attended him constantly as his nurse; and, as soon as he was able to bear the journey, persuaded him to remove to Edinburgh. He was carried thither in a litter, and lodged, not in the Palace, but under the pretences of obtaining better air and more quiet, in a house, then in the suburbs, belonging to the provost of a collegiate church, called Kirk of Field. There Mary's assiduities were increased. She seldom left him during the day, and sometimes slept in the chamber under that in which he lay. His fears and suspicions, and peevish humours, were

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lulled to rest, and the endearments of their bridal days seemed to be revived, when on Sunday, the ninth of February, 1567, N.S. the Queen left him, about eleven at night, to be present at a masque in the Palace, and at two the next morning the house in which he lay was blown up with gunpowder. The bodies of the King, and of the servant who slept in his chamber, were found at a little distance, perfect, and without any marks of fire, or of violence.

JAMES STUART,

EARL OF MURRAY,

FOR so invariably do we find him denominated by that style in all historical authorities, as well printed as manuscript, that it might create confusion were we to adopt here a modern affectation of strict correctness, and call him Earl of Moray, according to the usage of his noble successors of later years, founded on the latinized title, "*Comes Moraviæ*," in the document by which his Earldom was conferred.

He was one of the several illegitimate children of King James the fifth of Scotland, and his mother was Margaret, daughter of John Erskine, fifth Earl of Mar, and afterwards wife of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven. He was born in the year 1533, and intended, after the usual royal fashion of Scotland in providing for such issue, for the ecclesiastical profession. The rich Priory of St. Andrews, and several other benefices, were accordingly conferred on him while in his cradle, and he was afterwards appointed Prior of Macon, in France. In 1548 he accompanied the infant Mary, who was nine years younger than himself, to the court of Paris, where he presently imbibed all the refinements which distinguished it; became enamoured of political and military science; and cultivated so assiduously and so generally the fine talents which nature had bestowed on him, that he became versed in a variety of knowledge far beyond the scope of the best education of that time. To all these qualifications, acquired too in a court never remarkable for the purity of its manners, he is said to have joined a reverence towards religion, and a strict decency of moral conduct, always rare in persons of his age and rank.

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He remained several years in France, for it should seem from circumstances that he returned not till 1556, a period rendered peculiarly interesting by the discord of parties, civil and religious, and by the jealousy entertained of the French interest in Scotland, which was cherished and represented by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, who wielded the regency. He stood aloof for a long time, seemingly to consider and digest in his mind the posture of affairs before he engaged in them. He was however at length nominated by the Parliament one of the eight commissioners deputed to negotiate the treaty of marriage between Mary and the Dauphin, and to represent the Scottish nation at the celebration of the nuptials, which occurred on the fourteenth of April, 1558. In the meantime he adhered to, or at least left unopposed, the measures of the Queen Regent, with a gradually increasing bias however to the cause of the reformers, who had now become a formidable party in the state, and who had been driven into insurrection by some late instances of persecution. The Regent levied an army to chastise them, but was prevailed on to negotiate, and appointed the Lord James as he was then called, together with the Earl of Argyll, her commissioners for that purpose. A treaty was concluded, every article of which was broken by her as soon as the insurgents had disbanded, and Murray resented her abandonment of faith by promptly and openly joining the "Lords of the Congregation," a denomination by which the chiefs of the Protestants had thought fit to distinguish themselves. His talents, his virtues, and his courage, presently placed him at their head, and rendered him the idol of the whole party. The Regent became alarmed at the formidable attitude in which he was thus suddenly placed, and, having vainly endeavoured by splendid offers to detach him from his associates, strove, with no better success, to insinuate to them that he secretly entertained a design to usurp the Throne. The reformers now again took up arms, and he appeared among them with a distinct military command, but the death of the Regent,

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in the summer of 1560, saved Scotland for the time from the horrors of a civil war. A few days before it occurred she solicited an interview with him; confessed to him the errors of her government; and took leave of him in cordial reconciliation.

His half sister, Mary, the regnant Queen of Scotland, and Queen Consort in France, became a widow towards the conclusion of the same year, and a Convention of Estates appointed him to wait on her with their solicitations for her return to her Kingdom, from which she had now been absent for twelve years. In this visit he laid the ground of a system, if not of favour, at least of forbearance with respect to the reformers, and after her arrival, obtained through his influence over them, though with some difficulty, an engagement for the unmolested worship of God in her family according to the ancient faith. He now held as might have been expected, the first place in her favour, and presently became an object of envy. The Duke of Chatelherault, first Prince of the blood, and with him the whole House of Hamilton, and the Earl of Huntly, one of the most powerful among the leaders of the Catholic party, became, from different motives, his enemies. The intemperance of the latter plunged him into open rebellion, and he fell in the field, in the sight of Murray, who had opposed himself to him, at the head of a small body of troops, his skill and bravery in the command of which gave an ample earnest to his country of the extent of his military talents.

Murray might now be said to govern the kingdom. The most perfect cordiality subsisted between the Queen and himself, and their agreement was beheld by all except the parties just mentioned, without fear or jealousy. She seemed to submit herself wholly to his advice, and the peace of Scotland, for nearly three years, suffered no interruption but from the occasional turbulence of the reformers, when the appearance of Darnley in the character of a suitor for Mary's hand suddenly clouded the prospect in all its parts. It was with Murray's consent that the Earl of Lennox

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and his son had been invited into Scotland, nor does it appear that he had in the beginning expressed any disapprobation of Mary's extravagant partiality towards Darnley, but he discovered soon after their arrival that they had secretly connected themselves with his enemies, and even that Darnley, in the folly of youth, had complained without reserve of the great extent of the Queen's favour towards him. He observed too that her regard for himself was declining, and an altered conduct towards him in the sycophants of the Court convinced him that he was not mistaken. Too haughty to make remonstrances of doubtful success, and too generous to avail himself of the means of vengeance with which his popularity had armed him, he retired silently from the Court. Mary, with all the winning persuasion which she eminently possessed, recalled him, and he obeyed the summons. She spared no efforts to pacify and to conciliate him, but she concluded by requesting him to sign a written approbation of her marriage with Darnley, which he stedfastly refused. From that hour an enmity, the more deadly for having succeeded to a friendship which had borne all the marks of sincerity, took place between them. Mary, if she did not encourage, took no pains to check, the fury of Darnley, which extended even to a methodized plan of assassination, while Murray concerted measures with a party, in which were some of his own bitter enemies, for seizing the person of that favoured youth, and conveying him a prisoner into England, which Mary prevented by a timely flight with him to a place of undoubted security.

Our Elizabeth, bred in a gloomy jealousy of Scotland, to which was added a positive hatred to the person of Mary, though perhaps not minutely apprised of the detail of this design, had spared no pains in fomenting the spirit in which it was conceived. Murray, blinded by his resentment, had condescended to listen to her secret overtures, and to engage himself unwarily in her measures against his country; while Mary sealed his determination by commencing against him a positive persecution. Three

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days only after her marriage with Darnley, she issued a peremptory command, which she knew he durst not obey, for his immediate appearance at her court, and on his failure declared him an outlaw. At the same time she received into her favour, and even strict confidence, three powerful nobles, who were distinguished as his most implacable enemies, and levied troops with all expedition, to force him and his adherents from those strong holds in the Highlands where they had taken refuge, surrounded by their vassals, and anxiously waiting for aid from their new patroness, Elizabeth. That princess, it is true, now publicly interfered for them, especially for Murray, but in a mode purposely contrived to widen the breach. She remonstrated with Mary on the injustice of her conduct towards him, and justified the acts on his part by which it had been provoked. Encouraged by the countenance of so powerful an intercessor, and by the acquisition of a small sum which she had caused to be remitted to them, Murray and his adherents now appeared in arms. Mary, in person, marched at the head of her troops to meet them, and drove them before her from Dumfries to the borders, from whence Murray, and a very few of his principal companions, precipitately fled into England, to claim the protection which Elizabeth had given them so many reasons to expect at her hands. They long remained totally neglected by her, and at length Murray and another obtained with much difficulty an audience, on condition that they should deny, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, that Elizabeth had encouraged them to take up arms. They had no sooner made this declaration, than she addressed to them the most bitter reproaches; charged them with rebellion against their lawful Prince; and, in a furious tone, commanded them as traitors to quit her presence. She permitted them however to remain in England, to the northernmost part of which they immediately retired.

While this incredible piece of treachery was acting in London, Mary called a meeting of Parliament to proceed vigorously

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against the fugitives. Strong remonstrances however, in favour of Murray, particularly from those who had been the leaders of the "congregation," induced her to pause. Elizabeth also again thought fit to add her instances, and Murray himself is improbably said to have been so far induced to forget his own dignity as to solicit and obtain the good offices of David Rizzio. At this precise period however Mary secretly joined the fearful conspiracy of France and Spain for the extermination of the protestants in all their dominions, and Murray was too illustrious a victim to be spared. She again determined therefore to prosecute him with the utmost expedition and severity, when the strange event of the assassination of Rizzio, and its consequences, once more averted the execution of her vengeance, but excited considerations which suddenly rendered her immediate reconciliation with Murray prudent, if not necessary. The conspirators, Morton, Ruthven, and the rest, his old friends and partisans, had regularly apprised him, in his neighbouring exile, of the progress of their frightful enterprise, and of its success, and he arrived in Edinburgh on the evening following the murder, to join them in the desperate project which they had formed for extorting a pardon from the Queen. The great advantage which she might derive from the division of this powerful party instantly occurred to her, and she lost no time in attempting it. She received Murray, with those who had fled, and now returned, with him, in the most gracious manner, promised them an utter oblivion of their offences, and even a renewal of her favour, and Murray, with his friends, consented to abandon the assassins of Rizzio, who fled with precipitation into the foreign asylum which the others had so lately quitted. These matters occurred in the month of March, 1565-6.

A year succeeded, crowded with most extraordinary events, the relation of which belongs to the general history of Scotland, in which the name of Murray scarcely once occurs during that period. Among a few conditions on which his late reconciliation

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with Mary had been founded was a solemn pledge given on his part to abstain from all acts of enmity against the Earl of Bothwell, between whom and himself a bitter discord had long subsisted, and this may in some measure account for his inaction in any of the dismal scenes which had their origin in the iniquitous ambition of that nobleman, and the scarcely less criminal weakness of the Queen. It has been even said, but improbably, that he recommended her to marry Bothwell. About the middle of the year he obtained permission to travel, and took up his residence in France, where he remained while a mighty combination of Nobles was forming for the deposition of Mary, and carrying its views into effect. That they were advised and animated by him from his retreat there can be little doubt, though history affords no clear proof of that fact. The infant James was now placed on the Throne; Murray returned; and, with an affected reluctance, accepted the office of Regent on the twenty-third of August, 1567.

His very entrance on this high trust evinced a clearness of judgement, a consistency of action, and, if the expression may be allowed, a political morality, of neither which the Scots of that day had seen any examples in their former governors. Before however his administration could assume a fixed character new distractions arose. Mary escaped from her confinement at Lochleven, and raised an army. Dismay and irresolution seized his adherents. They pressed him to negotiate or to retreat, but he remained unmoved, and, having disposed his inferior force to the best advantage, waited the attack which he knew he might expect from the Queen's impetuosity. The decisive battle of Langside followed, and the vanquished Mary fled into England, never to return. The Regent used his victory with mercy and moderation. Few had perished in the field, and none subsequently fell by the hands of the executioner. He was returning to the civil duties of his office when a new and unexpected call again withdrew him from them. Mary, who it is needless to say was now a prisoner

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in the hands of Elizabeth, resolved to submit her cause to the judgement of that Princess, who readily accepted the jurisdiction, and required the Regent to defend his conduct towards his Sovereign. Commissioners for the discussion were appointed on each side, and the celebrated conferences at York and Westminster ensued, the detail of which is so well known to historical readers that it would be idle were it possible to repeat any part of it in this necessarily superficial sketch. Suffice it therefore to say that the sound sense of Murray was baffled on every point by the deep artifice of Elizabeth and her ministers; and that even on the single question to which he had previously resolved never to give an explicit answer, namely, whether the Queen of Scots had been a party in the murder of her husband, he was at length drawn in to make a clear and definitive declaration.

Little more can be said of this eminent person. The short remainder of his life presents nothing to our view beyond the ordinary measures of good domestic government, which adorned the brief term of his administration, and procured for him the appellation of "the good Regent," by which he was long distinguished in Scotland. He perished by the hand of an assassin, of a junior line of that illustrious family with which he had been always at bitter variance; not in pursuance of that feud, nor for any public cause, but to avenge an injury purely private and personal. In riding through the high street of the town of Linlithgow, on the twenty-third of January, 1570, he was shot through the body by James Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, and died within a few hours after.

The Earl of Murray married, in February, 1561, Anne, eldest daughter of William Keith, fourth Earl Marischal, and afterwards wife to Colin Campbell, sixth Earl of Argyll. He had by her two daughters; Elizabeth, married to James Stewart, son of the Lord Doun; and Margaret, to Francis Hay, ninth Earl of Errol.

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THE life of an ecclesiastical reformer, a title always bestowed on those whose endeavours to overthrow a religious establishment have been crowned by success, requires many episodes to render it interesting to any others than those of his own profession. The journeyings, and preachings, and mortifications, and weepings, and raptures of such a person ; nay, his very prophecies, unless some one of them should chance to be verified, which, for the best of all reasons, scarcely ever happens ; can never attract general attention. To bespeak our regard he must have raised armies by the magic of his eloquence, hurled Kings from their thrones, annihilated civil systems, burned multitudes of persons, or must at least himself have been burned. Knox had none of these recommendations. He was a busy instrument in the propagation of a schism which would have worked its way, perhaps not quite so speedily, if he had never had existence. He was deputed to undermine by coarse and vulgar declamation a monarchy the honour of pulling down which his employers intended to reserve to themselves. His brutal insolence to the Sovereigns under whom he lived never exalted itself to active rebellion ; he suffered no punishment which could be deemed persecution, nor did his station afford him the power of persecuting others. His secret transactions and engagements with the eminent persons whom he joined in disturbing the peace of their country have never been discovered, and his history is almost wholly confined to the ravings of fanaticism and sedition.

Who were his parents is unknown, yet the fact of his having been descended from the ancient and respectable family of Knox of Renfarleigh, in the shire of Renfrew, is supported by such

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strong presumptions that it cannot be doubted. He was born in 1505, at a village called Giffard, in East Lothian, and having received his first instructions for the clerical profession at the grammar-school of the neighbouring town of Haddington, was removed to the University of St. Andrews, where he studied under the tuition of John Mair, an eminent teacher of the theology then in vogue, with such application and activity that he is said to have obtained the degree of Master of Arts while yet a youth, and to have been admitted into priest's orders before the age prescribed by ecclesiastical law. The subtilties however of school divinity were ill suited to the bold and inquisitive character of his mind, and he soon abandoned them for the study of the primitive fathers, in which he passed several years of severe application. At length the doctrines of the reformation reached Scotland ; he attached himself to a priest of the name of Williams, provincial of the Scottish Benedictines, who had not only translated the New Testament, but had publicly decried in his sermons the Pope's authority ; and soon after, in 1544, renounced in form the Roman Catholic faith, and became the regular disciple of the famous George Wishart. He attended that more moderate pastor in his spiritual progresses till the commencement of the year 1546, when Wishart was put to death, and celebrated his memory in the usual strain which such writers apply to such subjects.

From his connexion with Wishart he derived considerable fame among the reformers, who began to consider and treat him as the head of their infant church. The Lairds of Ormeston and Langniddry, powerful men, who were then the chief temporal patrons of the new persuasion, appointed him tutor to their children, and he lived in their houses. Processes were at length issued against him, and he had resolved to fly to Germany, but those gentlemen persuaded him to take refuge in St. Andrews, where the castle was then held by the persons who had lately assassinated in it Cardinal Beatoun, its owner. Knox, who had

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called that murder "a godly thing," which he repeats in his history, was received by them with joy. He expounded and catechised so hopefully that they declared "the gift of God to be in him," and called on him with one voice to assume the office of a public preacher, which, after long persuasion, he accepted, and presently after signalised himself by a sermon so furious that the new Primate instantly took measures to silence him. These however were prevented by the party in the castle, which in fact ruled the town, and the Catholics could do little beyond summoning Knox to a public disputation, to which he gladly agreed, and in which, as might be expected, we are told that he was completely successful. The whole city now embraced his doctrines; the church relinquished an opposition which in that place was utterly fruitless; and he remained there, with the merit at least of indefatigable application to his object, till July, 1547, when the castle was reduced by a French force, and he was put on board one of the gallies which brought it over, in which he remained on the coast of France a prisoner for two years.

In 1549 he was liberated, and came to London, where he obtained a licence to preach at Berwick, and soon after at Newcastle on Tyne, and repaired for that purpose into the north. During his residence there he received the appointment of a chaplain in ordinary to Edward the sixth, as well as some rebukes for the extravagancy of certain of his tenets, and returned to London in the spring of 1553, where he refused to accept a living which the Privy Council had moved Archbishop Cranmer to bestow on him, and vilified the King's ministers in his sermons, under the names of Achitophel, Judas, &c. To have prosecuted him specifically for that insolence might have been then very injurious to the progress of the reformation; they endeavoured therefore to curb him by another method: he was cited before the Council to assign his reasons for refusing the benefice, with the view, probably, of provoking him into unlawful invectives against the new establishment in England. His answers, though

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sufficiently proving his dissatisfaction with that system, were uttered with such caution that no safe ground could be taken whereon to institute any further proceeding against him, but he was dismissed with an admonition which, however gently delivered, determined him to exercise his vocation in the country, and he was preaching in the towns and villages of Buckinghamshire, to large congregations, probably attracted by the novelty of a dialect which must have been unintelligible to them, when the accession of Mary rendered it prudent for him to quit the kingdom. He embarked for Dieppe in February, 1554, N. S. and travelled from thence to Geneva, where he placed himself in the presence, and under the orders, of his great spiritual principal, John Calvin.

Calvin presently deputed him to Frankfort, to minister to the English protestants who had fled from the violence of Mary, and settled in great numbers in that city; but his doctrines were even more offensive to these good people than those of the Church of Rome. Unwilling to engage in endless controversy with him, and unable to prevail on him to use the English Liturgy, they took a short method to disencumber themselves of him, accusing him of treason to the magistrates of the city, both against their sovereign, the Emperor, and against Queen Mary; upon which the magistrates, aware that they could not avoid surrendering him to either of those Potentates who might demand his person, secretly apprised him of his danger, and he returned precipitately to Geneva, where he remained from March, 1555, till the following August, when he determined to visit again his native land. His transactions there, during the abode of a year, present little beyond the usual contents of the journal of any other itinerant preacher. It is true that the Scottish secession from Popery had assumed, during his long absence, the character of an important political implement, and his consequence had necessarily increased. The nobility of the Kirk, as it now began to be called, were the regular opponents of the Court and government of the

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Queen Regent ; Knox was too promising an agent to be neglected ; and they courted his intimacy. They easily prevailed on him to affront that lady by addressing to her a letter, abusing the faith in which she had lived, and exhorting her to hear his sermons ; and Mary, with great justice, called it a pasquinade. The Prelates at length cited him to answer for his conduct, and he obeyed by repairing to Edinburgh on the appointed day, and preaching there to the largest congregation that he had ever drawn together. No further steps however were taken against him while he remained in Scotland ; yet in July, 1556, he once more returned to Geneva, and had no sooner disappeared than the Bishops again cited him, and, on his non-appearance, condemned him to death for heresy, and his effigy was burned in Edinburgh. In all this there was much of the air of a compromise.

In the summer of the following year the discontented Lords, conceiving that they had now gained sufficient strength to protect him against the government, pressed him to return to Scotland, and Calvin told him that to refuse would be "rebellion against God, and cruelty to his country ;" so he set out on his journey, but when he had reached Dieppe, and was about to embark, he received letters, informing him that some leading persons in the party had begun to waver, and recommending it to him to halt for a time on the continent. Knox appears to have been excited to great wrath by these intimations. He was prudent enough to take the advice of his friends, and returned to Geneva, doubtful of their sincerity, or their power, or both ; but he answered the letters with denunciations of vengeance, uttered in a style of papal authority, against inconstancy in any of his disciples. He was sufficiently employed however in the good cause at Geneva, for he now wrote, and printed there, his invective against the sovereignty of females, with the awful title of "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women," the most remarkable of his works, aimed at once against his own Queen, and our Mary. He was preparing a second Blast, when

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the last named Princess died, and the accession of Elizabeth, whose aversion to popery was well known, induced him to lay it aside. In contemplation of obtaining her furtherance he now determined to visit England, and wrote to Cecil for a licence to that end, which was peremptorily and scornfully refused. Knox discovered that his book had induced this repulse, and forced the Secretary into a correspondence on its merits, in which, however disgusting the insolence, and obstinacy, and mad fanaticism of the man, we cannot but admire his sincerity and courage.

To give one short extract from this most singular letter—"If any think me," says he, "either enemy to the person, or yet to the regimen, of her whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived of me; for the miraculous work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel, I do acknowledge; and the power of his most potent hand (raising up whom best pleaseth his mercy to suppress such as fight against his glory) I will obey, albeit that both nature, and God's most perfect ordinance, repugn to such regimen. More plainly to speak, if Queen Elizabeth shall confess that the extraordinary dispensation of God's great mercy maketh that lawful unto her which both nature and God's law doth deny unto all women, then shall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I shall be; but if, God's wondrous work set aside, she ground, as God forbid, the justness of her title upon consuetude, laws, or ordinances of men, then I am assured that as such foolish presumption doth highly offend God's supreme Majesty, so do I greatly fear that her ingratitude shall not long want punishment." Not content with writing thus to Cecil, he addressed a letter to Elizabeth herself, in which we find the following menacing passage. "If thus in God's presence you humble yourself, as in my heart I glorify God for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within England under you, a weak instrument, so will I with tongue and pen justify your authority and regimen, as the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in Deborah, that blessed mother in Israel:

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But, if the premises, as God forbid, neglected, you shall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority and regimen upon your own law, flatter you who so list, your felicity shall be short." Need it be asked whether this was the effect of inspiration or insanity?

Too much however in his senses to trust himself in Elizabeth's hands, and hopeless of converting her to puritanism, he now set out for Scotland, and arrived there in May, 1559. He was soon after nominated by the Lords of the Congregation, as they had for some time styled themselves, together with another preacher, to endeavour to obtain by negotiation that Princess's aid to the temporal views of the Kirk, which, as is well known, she most readily granted. The subversion of the ancient religion was now consummated. Knox composed a code of constitutions for the newly invented church, at great length, and digested with a clearness and precision of which, in spite of his ferocious wildness, he was very capable. One of the nine general heads which it comprised was intituled "Touching the suppression of Idolatry," and contained this sweeping clause—"Idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeyes, chapels, monkeries, frieries, nunneries, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, other than presently are parish churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all places of this realm; palaces, mansions, and dwelling houses, with their orchards and gardens, only excepted." The Estates, even before they had ratified these constitutions, became so enamoured of that peculiar article, that they passed an act specially for the execution of its provisions, and Knox aided their pious intention by simultaneously proclaiming in a sermon that "the sure way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests." Instantly commenced that barbarous havoc, the disgrace of which to the land is still attested by so many magnificent relics. "Thereupon ensued," pathetically writes Archbishop Spotswood, who was no enemy to the prime author of the mischief, "a pitiful vastation of churches and

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church buildings throughout all the parts of the realm ; for every one made bold to put too their hands, the meaner sort imitating the ensample of the greater, and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the churches either defaced, or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, such as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The registers of the church, and bibliothèques, cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined."

The ecclesiastical government was now committed to twelve persons ; the kingdom divided into as many districts, to be placed under their care respectively ; and that of Edinburgh was assigned to Knox. There the celebrated Mary found him, intoxicated by power and popularity, on her arrival from France to take possession of a crown of thorns, the first of which he planted. The private exercise in the chapel of her palace of the faith in which she had been born and bred was intolerable to him, and, in defiance of an act of the State by which the penalty of death was denounced against any one who should disturb such worship, he inveighed furiously against it in his pulpit on the very first Sunday after her coming ; declaring that " one mass was more frightful to him than ten thousand armed enemies landed in any part of the realm." Mary, forced to temporize, attempted to move him in the courteousness of private conference, but he was inexorable. The only concessions, if they might be so called, which she could obtain from him, regarded his book lately mentioned. He declared that he had written it solely " against that wicked Jezabel of England ;" and told her that as St. Paul could live under the government of Nero, so could he under her's. " She promised him access to her," says the most popular of the Scottish historians, quoting, in this instance, Knox's own authority, " whenever he demanded it : and she even desired him, if he found her blameable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before all the people ;

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but he plainly told her that he had a public ministry entrusted to him ; that if she would come to church she should hear the gospel of truth ; and that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for such occupation." "This rustic apostle," adds the same writer, "scruples not in his history to inform us that he once treated her with such severity that she lost all command of her temper, and dissolved into tears before him. Yet, so far from being moved with youth, and beauty, and royal dignity, reduced to that condition, he persevered in his insolent reproofs, and when he relates this incident, he even discovers a visible pride and satisfaction in his own conduct." Innumerable instances of this savage insolence towards the fair Queen might be cited from Knox's own relation.

This singular person survived the date of the complete establishment of his church for ten years, a portion of his life which affords not a single circumstance worthy to be recorded. With some shew of reason indeed have his disciples asserted that Providence raised him up specially to perform that work, for certainly he was qualified for no other, and sunk, therefore, after he had accomplished it, into comparative insignificance. He died, after a gradual decay of three months, on the twenty-fourth of November, 1572, and was buried in the church-yard of the parish of St. Giles, in Edinburgh. Knox, amidst his pious cares, seems to have been by no means inattentive to his private interests : there is reason to believe that he died even wealthy. Certain it is that he was twice very respectably married ; first, to Margery Bowes, of the ancient family of that name in the county of Durham ; secondly, to Margaret, daughter of Andrew Stuart, Lord Ochiltree. By his first wife he had two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar, who were educated in St. John's college, in the university of Cambridge, became Fellows of that house, and beneficed clergymen in England ; and one daughter, married to Robert Pont, a Lord of Session. By the second, he had three daughters, two of whom became the wives of ministers of the Kirk, of the names of Welsh and Fleming.

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Knox's writings, all, as might be expected, of the polemical class, were numerous. His "History of the Reformation within the realm of Scotland," a book on many accounts of considerable curiosity, is well known; for the rest, it is painful to enumerate works which no one in this time has read, or will read, and yet some mention of them may be expected here. The following are extant in print:—"A faithful Admonition to the true Professors of the Gospel of Christ within the Kingdom of England," 1554—"A Letter to Mary, Queen Regent of Scotland," 1556—"The Appellation of John Knox from the cruel and unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, with a Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Estates and Commonalty of the same realm," 1558—"The First Blast," &c. already spoken of, 1558—"A Brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel heretofore by the Tyranny of Mary suppressed and banished," 1559—"An Answer to a great number of blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist, and Adversary of God's eternal Predestination," 1560—"A Reply to the Abbot of Crossragwell's" (Crossregal) "Faith, or Catechism, with his Conference with that Abbot," 1562—"A Sermon preached before the King," (Henry Darnley) 1566—"An Answer to a Letter written by James Tyria, a Jesuit," 1568. Other of his pieces are printed in Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, and several of his manuscripts existed about eighty years since in the hands of a Mr. Robert Woodrow, a Minister of the Kirk.

THOMAS HOWARD,

FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK

HENRY, Earl of Surrey, the poet, the soldier, and the last victim to the monstrous cruelty and injustice of Henry the eighth, and Frances, third daughter of John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford, were the parents of this great nobleman. The sanguinary death of his father made way for his succession to the Dukedom in 1557, on the demise of his grandfather, Thomas, the third Duke, whose family had been restored in blood in the first year of Queen Mary. The precise date of his birth is unknown, but he was at that time twenty-one years old. He had received his early education in the protestant faith, in the family of his aunt, the Duchess of Richmond, who was a zealous reformer; and probably afterwards studied in the university of Oxford, since we find that he took there the degree of Master of Arts on the nineteenth of April, 1568.

He had espoused Elizabeth's title to the Crown with all the ardour of youth, and all the sincerity of inexperience, and was among the earliest objects of her gratitude when she succeeded to it. She invested him with the Order of the Garter, and in the following year appointed him her Lieutenant in the North, and Commander in chief of her forces there. In those characters, he concluded a treaty, as soon as he arrived at Berwick, with the Lords who, for the protection of the Duke of Chatelherault, next heir to the Crown, were opposed to the French interest in Scotland, but the peace of Edinburgh, which speedily followed, prevented him from any opportunity of signalizing himself in the

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field. In 1567, Charles the ninth of France, having complimented Elizabeth with authority to invest two of her subjects with his then much valued order of St. Michael, she named Norfolk to share that distinction. In the next year he was one of the three Commissioners appointed to examine at York the charges brought by the Regent Murray against the captive Queen of Scots, and here he first seriously entertained the idea of that unfortunate matrimonial scheme which at length proved so fatal to him.

The first overture of this project had been made to him two years before by Maitland of Lethington, Mary's Secretary of State, shortly before her marriage to Darnley, when the Duke "waved it," as we are told, "with a modest refusal." Murray, with motives very different, now secretly reiterated the proposal, but it was perhaps yet more discouraged than before by Norfolk, who objected, with some degree of disdain, to an offer of marriage with a woman who laboured under a suspicion, indeed a formal accusation, of dreadful crimes, although that woman were a Sovereign. The correspondence however with Murray, though the subject perhaps was at present unknown, did not escape the vigilance of Elizabeth's spies, who discovered also that the Duke sometimes communicated with Lethington, and others in confidence with the Queen of Scots. In the exercise too of his office of Commissioner signs of partiality to her cause were occasionally observed. Elizabeth's jealousy was awakened, and she exclaimed, in the hearing of several of her Court, that "the Queen of Scots would never want a friend so long as Norfolk lived."

Early in the succeeding year, 1569, we find the Duke wavering on the proposal of the match. He had consulted some of his friends; had been encouraged by them to adopt the project; and a small party was secretly in some measure formed to forward its views. To the scheme for the Duke's marriage was now added

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another, for that of his only daughter to the young King of Scotland, Mary's son. Elizabeth, who became imperfectly apprised of these transactions, had now just ground for anger, though she had none to suspect the Duke's loyalty. Even in the midst of their progress he had ingenuously laid before her certain splendid offers by which the King of Spain had sought to corrupt his fidelity, and to induce him to employ his great power and popularity in embarrassing her government. But the mere failure of that profound deference to royalty which in those days rendered it necessary for a nobleman to obtain to his marriage the previous approbation of his Prince, not to mention the peculiar circumstances of the bride proposed in this case, could not but have given high offence to a Sovereign less irritable and tenacious than Elizabeth. She dissembled however her resentment till she could fathom the whole of the plan to the utmost, and the means that she used for that purpose, though not absolutely proved, are indicated by such powerful historical probabilities as to dispel all reasonable doubt. The Earl of Leicester, who unworthily possessed the Duke's confidence, was employed by her to abuse it. The darkness which involved the motives of that subtle and unprincipled man, even in his own day, has in the lapse of time become generally impenetrable; but it is scarcely possible to surmise with any degree of plausibility what other end he, who never moved but with the view of serving his own interest, chiefly by cultivating her favour, could have proposed by his conduct in this affair. The concurrent testimony of all historians of that time has assured us that Leicester, at this very period, came suddenly forward to urge the Duke with vehemence to conclude the treaty for the match, and undertook himself an active and busy agency in the promotion of it; that, when it was on the point of being accomplished, he affected to fall sick, and, on receiving a visit from her, discovered the whole to the Queen; and that he so devoted his friend to almost certain ruin, under

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the pretence of endeavouring to save himself from possible displeasure.

Elizabeth however entertained a partiality of some sort towards Norfolk, and wished to save him. She still received him with apparent complacency, and even warned him by hints of his danger. Dining with her at Farnham, she "advised him pleasantly to be careful on what pillow he laid his head." She informed him soon after that all had been imparted to her, and reproached him with severity. He now besought his friends to mediate for him, and retired to his estates in Norfolk, but soon returned to the Court, where on his arrival he learned that the Queen had in the mean time received a letter from Murray, with new disclosures. He was summoned to appear before the Privy Council, and, having made a large confession, the effusion, not of fear, but of a mind not less honourable than lofty, was committed to the Tower on the eleventh of October, 1569, on a charge of high misdemeanors, from whence, after a year's imprisonment, he was removed to a milder restraint in his own house, under the care of Sir Henry Neville. Here he was visited by that honest minister Burghley, who loved him not less than he loved honour and impartiality, and who, says Camden, "did all he could to work him over to marry any other woman, whereby he would afterwards be free from suspicion, and the state be out of fear: notwithstanding," continues the same author, "there were some who thought he was now set at liberty on purpose that he might be brought into some greater danger. This is certain; that more things came to light afterwards than he was aware of, and the fidelity of those who were his greatest confidants, either by hope or bribery, began to fail him."

The fatal design had indeed sunk too deeply into Norfolk's mind to be eradicated. He was no sooner free from all custody than he engaged in a regular correspondence with Mary, who suggested applications for assistance to the Pope, and the King of

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Spain, with other expedients full of danger to the state. In this enlargement of the plan it was even proposed to seize the person of Elizabeth, and to restore the Catholic religion in England, but this the Duke was proved to have rejected with horror and detestation. The agency of persons of mean rank, and of doubtful character, was now employed, and among them one of the name of Higford, the Duke's secretary, whom he was obliged to intrust with the decyphering of Mary's letters, and others, the originals of which he was strictly ordered to destroy. This however he disobeyed, and, in the summer of 1571, having been detected in the act of conveying a sum of money from the French Ambassador to Mary's party in Scotland, and cast into prison, in a mixture of fear and treachery voluntarily directed Elizabeth's government to the secret place in which he had deposited them. Norfolk was immediately arrested; on the seventh of September again committed to the Tower; and, on the sixteenth of the succeeding January, was tried by twenty-five Peers, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, presiding as Lord High Steward, on a charge of high treason, obscurely stated in the indictment, and by no means proved by the papers produced against him, which were the sole evidence employed on the occasion: on that however he was found guilty, and was condemned, in the teeth of the well known statute of Edward the sixth, which enacts that no person shall be convicted of high treason but on the parole testimony of at least two witnesses, to be confronted with the accused.

When the usual final question was put to him—"What he had to say why judgement of death should not be passed on him?" he answered only "God's will be done, who will judge between me and my false accusers." The sentence was then pronounced, which he heard with calmness, and when it was ended, said to the Lords, in a firm but modest tone; "Sentence is passed on me as a traitor. I have none to trust to but God and the Queen: I am

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excluded from your society, but I hope shortly to enjoy the heavenly. I will fit myself to die : only this thing I crave—that the Queen would be kind to my children and servants, and take care that my debts be paid.” Camden, who was officially present at the trial, records these speeches, and has in his excellent “*Annals of Elizabeth*” a number of minute particulars connected with this nobleman’s story, too extensive to be here inserted otherwise than in substance, given with a fidelity and impartiality unusual with the historical writers of his time ; but he prudently leaves the inferences to be drawn by posterity. There can be no doubt that the Duke’s ambition aimed at the future attainment of the station of King Consort, if the phrase may be allowed, of Scotland, and eventually of England ; and it was a blameless ambition, for it involved no question of Elizabeth’s right to reign, nor of any disturbance of the regular succession to the throne, but aimed merely at the chance of partaking in the splendor of a legal presumptive inheritance.

Elizabeth hesitated for several months whether to take the life of a nobleman perhaps not less beloved by herself than by her people, but at length gave way to those predominant feminine passions, fear and jealousy. An address, doubtless with her secret concurrence, was at length presented to her by a committee of both Houses of Parliament, beseeching her to sign the warrant for his execution, with which, affecting that she could not resist the voice of her people so declared, she complied ; and on the second of June, 1572, the Duke suffered death on the scaffold, with that pious resignation, and dignified calmness, which bespoke at once the purity and the grandeur of his character.

Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was thrice married ; first to Mary, daughter, and one of the coheirs, of Henry Fitzalan, fourteenth and last Earl of Arundel of his ancient name, who died in childbirth, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1557, under the age of

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seventeen, leaving however her infant son, Philip, who became Earl of Arundel in right of his mother. He married secondly, Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden, and Lord Chancellor, and widow of Henry, a younger son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and by her had two sons, Thomas and William, the ancestors respectively of the present Earls of Suffolk and Carlisle; and two daughters, Elizabeth, who died an infant; and Margaret married to Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset of his name. The Duke's third Lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Leybourne, and widow of Thomas, fourth Lord Dacre of Gillesland.

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IN contemplating the tyranny, the violence, and the injustice of the time in which this eminent person flourished, we pause with peculiar complacency on the circumstances of a life marked by a prosperity so unvaried as scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of human felicity. In four reigns not less distinguished by the occasional sway of despotism or faction than by the alternate predominance, and consequent persecutions, of two conflicting churches, he held uninterruptedly the highest offices in the state, under the protection of a happy medium of royal favour, which appears not at any time either to have increased or abated. This was not good fortune. It seems to have been the simple result of a sincere loyalty; of a sagacity which confined itself to its proper objects; and of a zeal in the public service wholly uninfluenced by ambition. His life was extended far beyond the usual age of the healthiest men, and he died in the possession of immense wealth, and of a most honest character. The happiness of this man has been in no small measure entailed on his numerous posterity, for the axe has never yet reeked with the blood of a Powlett, nor have their estates in any instance fallen under the scourge of attainder.

He was the eldest of the three sons of Sir John Powlett, Knight of the Bath, heir male of the second line of a noble family, originally from Picardy, which in the thirteenth century acquired the Lordship of Powlett, Poulet, or Paulet, in Somersetshire, and afterwards used that surname, by Elizabeth, daughter to Sir William Poulet, of Hinton St. George, in the same county, who represented the elder, and whose posterity has been also since

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ennobled. He was born in the year 1475, and it is most singular that from that period to the fifty-eighth year of his age no genuine memorial is to be found even of one solitary fact of his intermediate life. Naunton alone, speaking of him and of the then Earl of Pembroke, tells us generally that "they were both younger brothers," (a mistake, as we have just now seen, with respect to Powlett) "yet of noble houses, and spent what was left them, and came on trust to the Court, where, upon the bare stock of their wits, they began to traffic for themselves, and prospered so well that they got, spent, and left, more than any subjects from the Norman conquest to their own times." In 1533 then we first meet with him, at that time a knight, in the office of Comptroller of the King's household; and in the following year, as Lord Herbert informs us, he was joined in commission with three of Henry's most highly trusted servants to accompany and assist the Duke of Norfolk, who was then dispatched to Marseilles, by the desire of Francis the first, to attend an interview of that Monarch with Pope Clement the seventh.

In 1538 he was appointed Treasurer of the Household, and by a patent of the ninth of March, 1539, was raised to the Peerage by the title of Baron St. John of Basing, in Hants, an estate which he derived from the marriage of an ancestor with a co-heir of the House of Poynings, in which that Barony had been formerly vested. On this domain he erected a magnificent seat, and here Naunton, in asserting that he "had spent what was left him," is again in error. On the establishment of the Court of Wards and Liveries in 1540, he was placed in the important office of Master, and in the succeeding year received the Order of the Garter. We find his name in the number of executors of Henry's will, and of the Council, or guardians, appointed by it for the infant successor. He now rose with the rapidity almost peculiar to favourites, a class to which he certainly never belonged. On the nineteenth of January, 1549, he was created Earl of Wiltshire; was presently after appointed Lord High Treasurer; and on the

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twelfth of October, 1551, elevated to the dignity of Marquis of Winchester. In the same year he presided as Lord High Steward on the tryal of the Protector Duke of Somerset, to whose now crushed influence he had probably owed his lately acquired distinctions,

In the brief struggle for the succession to the throne after Edward's death, he espoused Mary's title with courage and frankness. With this disposition, together perhaps with an acquiescence which it has been hinted that he too readily and suddenly professed in the religious faith of that Princess, it is not strange that he should have continued to possess her favour, and his high office, during her reign. The insinuation however of this courtly sacrifice of conscience rests solely on a few careless words of Sir Robert Naunton, whom we have already twice convicted of misrepresenting this great man. Naunton merely says, again coupling Pembroke with the Marquis, "that they two were always of the King's religion, and over-zealous professors." Certainly neither a partiality to Mary, nor to her religion, was likely to recommend him to Elizabeth, yet she left him undisturbed in the possession of his post of Lord Treasurer till his death; and from this, and indeed from all considerations which the very scanty particulars that we have of him may authorize us to form, we may draw an inference more satisfactory than we frequently obtain from direct historical report, that he was an able, a faithful, and altogether worthy public servant, whose memory derives a higher credit from the silence of detraction than it might have acquired from that probably qualified and doubtful eulogy which history has denied to his character.

It is true that his long continuance in office has been ascribed to a readiness of compliance with the variety of factions which distinguished his time, and this charge too has arisen from an ill-natured paraphrase of Naunton's of a favourite saying of the ancient minister, which has been eagerly transcribed into peerages,

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and other books of as little biographical weight—“Being questioned,” says Naunton, “by an intimate friend of his how he stood up for thirty years together amidst the changes and reigns of so many chancellors and great personages? ‘Why,’ quoth the Marquis, ‘ortus sum ex salice, non ex quercu;’ I was made of the pliable willow, not of the stubborn oak.” Naunton had derived the information which he thus garbled from an eminent contemporary of his own, Sir Julius Cæsar. In an abstract made by Dr. Birch, remaining in the Museum, of an original journal kept by that statesman during almost the whole of his long life, we find the following entry—

“Late supping I forbear,
Wine and women I forswear,
My neck and feet I keep from cold,
No marvel then though I be old
I am a willow, not an oak,
I chide, but never hurt with stroke.”

“This,” continues Sir Julius, “was the answer of my godfather, William Poulet, Knt., Lord St. John, Earl of Wiltshire, Marquis of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer of England, being demanded by an inward friend how he had lived in the times of seven Monarchs, in all times of his life increasing in greatness of honour and preferment.” Thus the Marquis tells us in the four first lines the means by which he had attained to very old age; and in the two last, how he had maintained himself in his public stations in times of great difficulty—“I corrected mildly, says he, with a willow twig, and not with an oaken cudgel.” His answer therefore refers, not to the practice of submission, but to the exercise of authority.

A few original letters, all on the same subject, and that little connected with history, and less with biography, from this nobleman to an officer of the Royal Household, are preserved in the

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Museum. I will however close these meagre notices with a transcript of one of them, not only because I believe that we have at present no published example of his pen, but for the somewhat curious intelligence which it affords of the difficulties and terrors to which the Court, and even the Monarch, were then exposed during the visitations of pestilence.

“I comend me hartely to you, and think that the Quene's Ma^{te} hath don verry well to proge the Plyament to Octobr xii monethes, & to adjerne the Term to Hillary next. The Exchequer, & the receit, wilbe well kept in Syon, and for the triall of that I have sent; and at Shene the Courts of the Wards and of the Duchy may be well kept, yf Mr. Sakvile can be so plesed (wherof I dout, because he hath no oder lodging ny t^hand out of London) to whom I have writen, and shall have auns^r from him w^t spede, and upon his auns^r I shall returne you pfit knolege in all that matt^r. I think no howse of the Quene's about London wthin xii mylles meet for her Grace's access to before the feast of All Saints: then I note you these howses after wrighten, to serve if need requier—Hatfeld; Grafton; the Moore; Woodstok; Langley, no good wyntter howse and yet my Ladye's of Warwycke for tearme of lyfe. Homewards from Langley I cannot bring the Quene but by Reding, and by Newberie, where they die, wherein may be great perell, more then I wishe shold be. I think her Ma^{te} best were where her Highnes now is, in Wyndsore, if helthe there conteneue, though the howse be cowlde, wth may be holpen wth good fyers; and if her Highnes shalbe forced to remove, as God forbid, I think then best the Howsehold be put to bowrde wages, and certeyne of the Cownsell appoynted to wayte, and herselfe to repayre to Otland, where her M^{te} may remayne well, if no greate resort be made to the howse, and by this doinge the perell of all removes shalbe taken away, & the great charge that therof followeith. And there is at hand Hampton Cowrt, Richmond, and Eltome; large howses for romes, and good ayre; & nowe colde

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wether and frostes will bring helthe, w^{ch} God helpe. The rest of the howses the surveyor can name you. Westm^r the xxiii daye of Septembre, 1563.

Yo^r loving frend,

WINCHESTER."

The Marquis died on the tenth of March, 1572, at the age of ninety-seven, "having seen," says Camden, "one hundred and three persons that were descended from him." He had been twice married, and by his first lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Capel, had four sons, and as many daughters. John, who succeeded to his honours, and was ancestor of the extinct Dukes of Bolton, and the present Marquis of Winchester; Thomas; Chedioke; and Giles. The daughters were Alice, married to Richard Stowell, of Cotherston, in the county of Somerset; Margaret, to Sir William Berkeley; Margery, to Richard Waller, of Oldstoke, in Bucks; and Eleanor, to Sir Richard Pecksall. His second Marchioness was Winifred, daughter of Sir John Bruges, an Alderman of London, and relict of the wealthy Sir Richard Sackville. By her he had no issue.

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THIS was the eminent person whom Camden, and several other writers, in treating of the affairs of Scotland in his time, designate by the appellation of "Lidington," a corruption of "Lethington," the denomination of his estate, by which, according to the usage of his country, he was commonly called. In an age when his native realm was not more distinguished by bravery in war than by ignorance of the arts of government he stood alone a most profound and subtle politician. He was the eldest son of Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington, by Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Cranstoun, and was heir to a large patrimony, but the peculiar character of his mind unfitted him for the enjoyment not only of the simple comforts but of the proudest distinctions of private life. Stratagem and secrecy were the darling objects of his study, nor was ambition wanting to spur him on to the constant exertion of those inclinations. He had appeared at an early age in the Court of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, widow of James the Fifth, where he gave such proofs of his talents for the management of public affairs that in 1558 she chose him for her principal secretary. It was towards the close of that year that she declared her resolution to oppose the progress of the reformation in Scotland, and in the winter of the following, Maitland, who, in addition to being a protestant, had disgusted her by contradicting the counsels of the French by whom she was surrounded, withdrew himself from her service, and joined the Lords of the Congregation, as the leaders of the reformers began now to be called, by whom he was dispatched to London to implore the aid of Elizabeth to a cause which they were endeavouring, with

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various success, to support by force of arms. The request was gladly granted: the Duke of Norfolk was deputed to Berwick, to negotiate on the part of his mistress with the congregation; and a treaty, for which Maitland was a commissioner, was concluded in that town on the twenty-seventh of February, 1559, O. S. In the ensuing spring Elizabeth sent a fleet and army to Scotland, and her interference presently turned the scale in favour of the reformers. The remarkable siege of Leith; the consequent treaty of Edinburgh; and the death of the Queen Regent; were events which succeeded within a very few months: they were speedily followed by the departure of Francis the second of France, and the arrival of his widow, the beautiful and ill-fated Mary Stuart, to mount the throne of her ancestors.

The commencement of her reign was distinguished by studied concessions to the protestants. She restored Maitland to the post of secretary; but the favour which perhaps was thus bestowed on him through policy soon found stronger motives in her discovery of the perfection of his talents for that office, and in the effect of an infinite address with which he had successfully sought to cultivate her personal esteem. He became a favourite, and had for a long time the singular good fortune to enjoy at once the unlimited confidence of the crown and of the people. The difficulty of Mary's affairs with England was necessarily the first object of her attention, and to him alone she entrusted the management of them. Soon after her accession she sent him ambassador to Elizabeth, with whom he had to treat on that most delicate subject the pretensions of his mistress to the inheritance of the English throne. To those who have studied Elizabeth's character it is needless to say that such a mission must have been unsuccessful, but the ability which he displayed in it, and the penetration of his views of the policy and characters of her ministers, convinced Mary that she had not erred in her choice. She dispatched him therefore again, in 1563, to press Elizabeth to a personal interview with her, in the North of England, and he

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again failed. On his return he found the Queen persecuted by a church more intolerant, and more perilous to the interests of Princes who denied its doctrines, than that of Rome. The leaders of that infant schism which had then assumed the name of the Kirk not only sought to deny to Mary the private exercise of her own religion, but were inculcating with vehemence the right of the people to resist their rulers. Maitland, artfully avoiding the former topic, attacked the succeeding position in the general assembly with admirable skill and eloquence, and concluded by accusing the notorious Knox of sedition. A debate ensued the reputation of which is yet cherished by the Scots of either persuasion: "It admirably displayed," says the accurate and elegant Robertson, "the talents and character of both the disputants; the acuteness of Maitland, embellished with learning, but prone to subtlety; the vigorous understanding of Knox, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear."

In the spring of 1565 he was once more sent to London, to solicit the consent of Elizabeth to Mary's marriage with Darnley. It was refused, and he returned to Scotland with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whom Elizabeth instantly dispatched thither to protest against it in her name. Mary, enraged at this answer to a message which she had intended as little more than a compliment, sent orders to Maitland, when on his way to her court, to return without delay to London; to reproach Elizabeth with malice and duplicity; and to declare that his mistress was now determined that she would suffer no opinion but that of her own subjects to interfere with her choice. Maitland disobeyed, and repaired to her presence; convinced her of the evils likely to arise from so rude and rash a defiance; and received her pardon and her thanks. At this period commenced the follies, the crimes, and the miseries, of the unhappy Mary. In the deliberations on her future fate, held during her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, in 1567, he exerted himself to the utmost to save to her, under certain restrictions, the possession of the Crown; and

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when the Earl of Murray, lately appointed Regent, was summoned by Elizabeth in the following year to meet her commissioners at York, and justify the deposition of his Sovereign, Maitland, who was too firm a friend to her cause to be left with safety in Scotland, was unwillingly admitted by him into the number of his assistants.

The Duke of Norfolk was placed at the head of Elizabeth's commission, and it was during the progress of this mighty enquiry that the first steps were taken in that project for his marriage with the Queen of Scots which in the end cost him his life. To Maitland, as the most firm adherent to Mary, and perhaps the most acute man in Scotland, he first opened his design. The secretary received it with the warmest approbation, and presently invested it with the form and substance of a profound plan of policy. It was communicated with caution to the Regent; negotiations were privately commenced in England to secure to it the countenance of the most powerful among the nobility; the great business at York was interrupted, and its method changed, by means unknown to the rest of those intrusted to conduct it; and Elizabeth for a time saw herself in danger of disappointment, without being able to divine the cause. A matter however divulged to so many could not be long concealed from her. Murray, to whom of all others it was least likely to be beneficial, probably betrayed it to her soon after his return to Scotland, where Maitland, undismayed by the failure of one plan to undermine the Regent's authority, and weaken his party, now struck out with renewed vigour into the execution of others. No longer employed in the government, and odious to the ruling faction, he retired into Perth, to the seat of the Earl of Athol, a devoted supporter of Mary's interests, from whence he negotiated, by his emissaries, with Murray's friends, and seduced several from their adherence to him. The Regent at length foresaw in Maitland's liberty the extinction of his own power, and, having decoyed him to Stirling, procured a retainer of the Earl of Lenox

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to accuse him to the Privy Council of being a party in the murder of Darnley. He was sent in the autumn of 1569 a prisoner to Edinburgh, where Kirkaldy of Grange, who was governor of the castle, a person deeply concerned in the most remarkable public transactions of his time, and one of those whom Maitland had secretly gained over to the Queen's party, detached him, as it is said by counterfeiting Murray's signature to a warrant, from the persons to whose charge he had been committed, and took him into his own custody in the castle. This friendly aid prevented his being brought to an immediate trial, the fatal issue to him of which was evident; and Murray, who for some private reasons suffered Kirkaldy's conduct to pass unresented, was within a few weeks after assassinated by a private enemy.

Maitland was acquitted by a provisional council of nobles who had assembled to elect a Regent, and, on regaining his freedom, again plunged instantly into the political confusion of the state. He now laboured to accomplish a junction of the two contending factions, and at length, hopeless of restoring Mary to the plenitude of her regal power, proposed that she should be admitted to the sovereignty jointly with her infant son, who, on her deposition, had been placed on the vacant throne. To this end he, in concert with Kirkaldy, procured a conference between the leaders of the hostile parties, which broke up in tumultuous indecision. It was a critical hour for Maitland. He found himself obliged to declare openly for the Queen, or for her son, and, with little deliberation, because the circumstances of the time scarcely allowed room for any, at length appeared publicly for the former, and joined in issuing a proclamation, asserting her authority in bold and explicit terms. In the mean time the Earl of Lenox, father of the murdered Darnley, was chosen Regent by the opposite party, aided by the influence of Elizabeth, and one of the first acts of his authority was to deprive Maitland of the office of secretary, and to proclaim him a traitor. The rage of contention was

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now at the highest pitch: each party had an army under the walls of Edinburgh, and each, at the same time, held a Parliament, the one in that city, the other at Stirling: the assembly which acted under that title on the behalf of the King, in spite of Kirkaldy, who was not only governor of the castle, but provost of the town, passed an act of attainder against many of its opponents, in which Maitland was included.

These matters occurred in 1570, and the succeeding year, towards the close of which the Regent Lenox was killed at Stirling in a furious and romantic surprise of that town by Kirkaldy. The Earl of Mar, a nobleman of excellent character, whose endeavours to promote concord had procured him universal esteem, was chosen by the King's adherents to succeed him. In that spirit he opened a treaty with Maitland and Kirkaldy, in which all the parties seem to have been actuated by a sincere desire to heal the wounds of their country, and it was on the point of conclusion when the subtle and unprincipled ambition of the Earl of Morton rendered it abortive. Morton, a bitter enemy to Mary, a purchased friend to Elizabeth, and a disappointed candidate for the regency, at length obtained that office on the twenty-ninth of October, 1572, on the demise of Mar, who is said to have died of a broken heart. He held Maitland in the utmost abhorrence, but a secret wish to separate more widely the Queen's party, which was already somewhat disunited, induced him to renew with Maitland and his friends the negotiation which himself had interrupted with Mar. Maitland was then deeply engaged in forming a plan for the escape of his mistress from the captivity in which the fears and the injustice of Elizabeth had so long retained her. He agreed to the treaty with the view of making it subservient to his design, but Morton, his rival in subtlety and penetration, as well as in the love of political rule, discovered his motive, and determined on his ruin. Maitland now shut himself up with Kirkaldy in the castle of Edinburgh, to which Morton, with the aid of English troops, laid close siege,

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and, after prodigies of valour performed by the gallant defenders, reduced it on the twenty-ninth of May, 1573. Kirkaldy and Maitland surrendered to Sir William Drury, who commanded Elizabeth's troops, under a solemn engagement that their lives should be spared; but the former was shortly after hanged at the Cross in Edinburgh, and Maitland, who could find no hope of mercy but on his share in a promise already so scandalously broken, is said to have died by his own hand on the ninth of the succeeding month.

The political conduct of this extraordinary person has usually been taxed, it is difficult to discover on what grounds, with a selfish and sordid versatility. He appears, on the contrary, to have been the only public man of his country who remained invariably attached to the interests of Mary. Archbishop Spotswood, a warm friend to the contrary party, says, "a man he was of deep wit, great experience, and one whose counsels were held in that time for oracles; but variable and inconstant; turning and changing from one faction to another, as he thought it to make for his standing. This did greatly diminish his reputation, and failed him at last, &c." Dr. Robertson, in the following passage, gives us his character probably with more candour—"Maitland had early applied to public business admirable natural talents, improved by an acquaintance with the liberal arts; and at a time of life when his countrymen of the same quality were following the pleasures of the chace, or serving as adventurers in the armies of France, he was admitted into all the secrets of the cabinet, and put upon a level with persons of the most consummate experience in the management of affairs. He possessed in an eminent degree that intrepid spirit which delights in pursuing bold designs, and was no less master of that political dexterity which is necessary for carrying them on with success: but these qualities were deeply tinged with the neighbouring vices: his address degenerated sometimes into cunning; his acuteness bordered upon excess; his invention, over fertile, suggested to

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him on some occasions chimerical systems of policy too refined for the genius of his age or country ; and his enterprising spirit engaged him in projects vast and splendid, but beyond his utmost power to execute. All the cotemporary writers, to whatever faction they belong, mention him with an admiration which nothing could have excited but the greatest superiority of penetration and abilities."

Sir William Maitland was twice married; first, to Janet Menteth, by whom he had no issue; secondly, to Mary, daughter of Malcolm, third Lord Fleming, who brought him an only son, James, in whom this line of the family became extinct. From Sir John Maitland, next and younger brother to the subject of the preceding sketch, who attained to the office of High Chancellor of Scotland, and was created Lord Maitland by James the sixth, the Earls of Lauderdale are descended.

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THIS illustrious personage, whom a respect chiefly to high blood, unblemished integrity, and an amiable disposition, tended to place in the supreme government of his country at an epoch when it called for the rule of a politician at once subtle and daring, and perhaps capable even of relaxing occasionally from the strictness of just moral principles, was the eldest son of James, the first Earl of Arran of his family, by his third wife, Janet, daughter of Sir David Beatoun, Comptroller of Scotland. His grandfather was James, second Baron Hamilton, and his grandmother the Princess Mary, eldest daughter to King James the second of Scotland, on whose first husband, Thomas Boyd, the Earldom of Arran, afterwards granted to the issue of her second marriage, had been conferred.

He succeeded to his father's dignities and great estates in 1529, and had lived for several years in as much privacy as his rank could allow, when the untimely death of James the fifth, in 1542, a few days before the birth of his only child, afterwards the celebrated Mary, demanded the immediate appointment of a Regent. Competitors were not wanting. Mary of Guise, the Queen Dowager, who was by no means deficient in the ambition which distinguished her family, preferred a claim then of little hope, and Cardinal Beatoun, in addition to the pretensions founded on his great talents, and long experience in public affairs, produced a will of doubtful authenticity, which he affirmed was left by the deceased King, and in which he was expressly designated to that high office. The nobility however, utterly averse on the one hand to the rule of a foreigner, and equally

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jealous on the other of a churchman not only entirely devoted to the Papal See but of the most haughty and aspiring character, determined to offer it to Arran, who was in fact presumptive heir to the throne, through the descent above stated, and he accepted it, but not without hesitation.

The period of this election, which took place at the close of the year 1542, was perhaps the most important and critical to be found in the history of Scotland. Henry, whose influence in that country was before very formidable, considered the simultaneous events of his terrible victory at Solway Moss, the death of the King, and the succession of an infant in the cradle, as sure pledges of his future sovereignty. He commenced a treaty of peace with the Scots in the spirit of a conqueror and a tyrant, demanding not only that the royal babe should be betrothed to his son, Prince Edward, but that her person should be placed in his custody, and the government of her realm committed to his charge during her nonage. To these arbitrary and degrading conditions Arran would cheerfully have submitted, nor had Henry neglected to conciliate him by the most splendid temptations, among which was the offer of the Princess Elizabeth's hand to his eldest son, but the spirit of the nation was bursting into a flame, and, as it kindled, the resolution of the Regent failed. A treaty however was concluded, the terms of which, though considerably softened as to the points which were most odious, were still esteemed to be unreasonably partial to the English interest. Beatoun, whom the Regent had lately for a time imprisoned to prevent his resistance to the negotiation, and had liberated towards its conclusion, publicly condemned it with the utmost exertions of that powerful understanding and undaunted courage for which he was remarkable, and augmented, and skilfully arrayed, the party of the disapproving nobles and clergy: meanwhile the Abbot of Paisley, Arran's natural brother, a staunch supporter of the Papacy, and an earnest friend to the French influence in Scotland, privately practised on his hopes and his

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fears, with no other effect however than confirming, if it may be so said, his irresolution. In this distracted state of mind, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1543, he signed a ratification of the treaty with England; and on the third of the succeeding month, in a secret meeting with the Cardinal, pledged himself to do his utmost to render it ineffectual, and to devote himself to the support of the interests of France.

Nor was more consistency to be found in his religious principles. The reformation in Scotland had owed much to his encouragement: he had professed that faith even with zeal; forwarded a bill in the Parliament to allow the translation of the Scriptures; and more than one of the most eminent protestant preachers of the country lived in his family. Yet, through the persuasions and the threats of the Cardinal, he publicly abjured it in the winter of this year in the Franciscan church at Stirling. These miserable vacillations rendered him the object at once of domestic and foreign attacks. The Earl of Lenox, descended also from the same royal stock, was inclined to dispute with him for the Regency, and actually raised troops with which he marched to Edinburgh for that purpose, but while Beatoun craftily amused Lenox with negotiation, the most part of his army dwindled away, and the remnant was routed in the field. Henry, on the other hand, enraged beyond measure, made a furious inroad into Scotland; Arran implored and obtained the aid of France; and, while these matters were passing, the Cardinal, whom circumstances had rendered his chief adviser, as well as his most formidable rival, was taken off by a foul assassination in his castle of St. Andrews, where he had for some time detained the Regent's heir, as an hostage for the father's submission to his will. To regain that young nobleman, as well as to make a decent shew of resentment towards the murderers of the Cardinal, whom however he had secretly hated, the Regent ineffectually besieged the castle for five months, when a treaty ensued, in which neither party was sincere. The assassins

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engaged to restore his son, and to surrender the castle, on his procuring for them from the Pope an absolution of the murder, and from the Parliament a pardon; in the mean time they were secretly supported by Henry, to whom they had promised that they would resist to the last extremity; while the Regent, on his part, had applied to France for more skilful military aid than Scotland then possessed, for the purpose of reducing them, which in fact occurred soon after its arrival.

Before the conclusion of this siege Henry expired. His death was the signal for a war, which perhaps he himself had meditated. The demand which he had sternly made of the young Queen as a consort for his son and successor Prince Edward was now as peremptorily repeated by the Protector Somerset, in Scotland, and at the head of a powerful army. It was rejected, even with disdain, for the anger of the Scottish nobility was raised to the highest pitch by this outrage, and the Regent joined them with an air of firmness and decision secretly dictated by his engagements to France. The terrible overthrow at Musselburgh which succeeded on the tenth of September, 1547, seemed to render a strict alliance with that country even necessary to the preservation of any degree of Scottish independence; the nation readily claimed its protection; and England, in gaining a signal victory, defeated the very object for which she had fought. The Regent now, with almost general approbation, not only offered the hand of the infant Mary to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis the Second, but proposed that she should be immediately sent to the Court of Paris, to receive her education under the direction of the King, who, on his part, engaged to assist Scotland with a powerful military force. A treaty to these, and other effects, was concluded early in the spring of 1548, and France obtained, through concessions purely gratuitous, all that England had lately sued and fought for in vain. The French King overwhelmed the Scots with proofs of his gratitude, and Arran himself, with his usual imprudence, accepted from him the title

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of Duke of Chatelherault, and a pension of thirty thousand livres, together with the order of St. Michael, the collar of which appears on the portrait before us.

The army promised by Henry the Second of France arrived soon after in Scotland, but Somerset, whose power was now in the wane, was unable to undertake another invasion, and his great rival Dudley, on succeeding to the government of England, resolved to make a peace with the Scots. The treaty for that purpose renounced in express terms the claim of the marriage, and was in all other respects so favourable to the wishes of Scotland, that no doubt could be reasonably entertained of a repose of some years; the French troops were therefore re-embarked. Peace however produced its usual consequences in Scotland, a revival of intrigues and factions. The Queen Dowager, availing herself of the newly established amity and intercourse with France, laid plans to possess herself of the Regency. Since the death of the Cardinal, she had engaged in the direction of the state with increasing boldness and assiduity, and the patience with which the Duke allowed her interference, and listened to her dictates, suggested to her a strong hope that he might be induced to a voluntary resignation. The deficiencies of his nature, which were too glaring to be concealed, and the ill success of his measures, had gradually rendered him unpopular, while Mary had laboured, and with considerable effect, to gain the good opinion of the country, nor had she neglected to aggravate the prejudices conceived against him. Having matured her scheme, aided by the counsel of her own aspiring family, to obtain which she made a visit to Paris, she prevailed on Sir Robert Carnegy, and David Panter, Bishop of Ross, two of his chief advisers whom she had gained to her interest, to make the overture to him in the name of the King of France. These persons, who well knew how to address themselves to his foibles, terrified him with threats of the resentment of that Monarch, as well as of the Queen Dowager, and represented to

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him with their utmost force her popularity and power, and the disgust which the late public misfortunes had inspired against his rule. On the other hand, they promised him, as the price of his resignation, the settlement by France of his dukedom on his heirs; a splendid increase of his pension; and a declaration by Parliament of his right to succeed to the Throne, and of a favourable allowance of his conduct in the Regency. He gave way, almost without hesitation, and Mary had arrived from France to take the reins of government, when an obstacle to her views, perhaps not wholly unforeseen, presented itself. His brother, late Abbot of Paisley, who had been raised by him to the primacy on the death of the Cardinal, lay during this singular negotiation in the utmost extremity of illness. Suddenly recovered, he flew to the Court, and, with equal judgment and spirit, for he possessed most of the qualities of mind which his brother wanted, exhorted him to retract, and for the time prevailed. Mary, however, was firm. She employed once more every engine of art and power, and at length carried her point by adding to them the command of the young Queen, who was now nearly twelve years old. The perseverance of the Archbishop caused a delay of several months, but in the spring of 1554 the Duke finally resigned, and the Queen Dowager assumed the Regency.

He was doomed however to be restrained during a long life by the cumbrous dignity of his birth from the enjoyment of that privacy for which his nature, and perhaps his inclination, had best fitted him. In the arrangements for the royal marriage, a gross fraud had been practised to defeat the inheritance of the house of Hamilton. While the Scottish Parliament, in professed concert with the Court of France, had manifested on that occasion a laudable caution in explaining and establishing the rights of the Duke as presumptive heir to the Throne, the young Queen had been compelled by her uncles, the Princes of Lorrain, with the concurrence of Henry the second, to sign secretly certain instruments by which she settled the Crown of Scotland, in

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default of issue from herself, upon the heirs in succession to that of France, and declared that any other disposition of it made, or to be made, by her might be esteemed as extorted, and therefore void. The discovery, or the suspicion, of this iniquitous proceeding, especially as it was immediately followed by an act of the Scottish Parliament conferring on the Dauphin for life an equal partnership in the Sovereignty, and in the case of his surviving the Queen the whole, together with the title of King of Scotland, roused the Duke's indolent spirit, and induced him to attach himself to a party which readily elected him its nominal leader. The heads of the reformers, to whom their followers had lately given the title of "Lords of the Congregation," indignant at deceptions which had been practised on them by the Queen Regent, were now arrayed in firm opposition to her measures, or, in other words, to the French interest, and he joined them with some shew of ardour. Instigated as much by the artifices of Elizabeth, who had of late mounted the English Throne, as by their own resentment, they appeared in arms in 1559; and having appointed him their General, proclaimed the deposition of the Queen Regent. The eminent success which in the end crowned the efforts of this faction was then but dawning; the checks and impediments which seldom fail to attend the commencement of great public changes filled the Duke with doubts and terrors; and he seized the first favourable opportunity of retreating from the too arduous service which he had unwarily undertaken.

The resentment of France invaded his retirement. He was deprived of his pension, and his Dukedom was threatened, but a greater evil seemed to be approaching. Mary, now a widow, had returned to Scotland, and mounted a Throne which she unhappily resolved to partake with Darnley; and in this mighty exaltation of the family of his rival, Lenox, the Duke foreboded the extinction of all hope of the succession in his own. He joined the faction which, led by the Earl of Murray, the Queen's illegi-

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timate brother, had taken up arms to oppose the marriage, and fled the country with it before the Queen's superior strength. He resided long in France, and from thence besought her pardon with the deepest humility, and with some difficulty obtained it. There he remained during the enormities and vicissitudes of the three succeeding years, which were marked by the dethronement and captivity of Mary, and the appointment of Murray to the Regency. While that nobleman was employed in 1568, at York and at Westminster, in that great discussion of the conduct of his mistress which had been with solemn mockery instituted by Elizabeth the friends of Mary were secretly active at home in her behalf. The Duke now returned, bringing with him a sum, supplied by the Court of France, to be applied to her service. He landed in England, where Elizabeth by various artifices detained him for some months, but he seems to have been allowed an unrestrained intercourse with Mary, who at the end of February, 1569, dispatched him to Scotland, decorated with the high-sounding title of her Lieutenant-General in that country, to which she added the singular denomination of her "adopted father."

He had scarcely concerted his plan of operations with the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, after himself the Queen's most powerful adherents, when Murray suddenly returned, and, with the promptitude and decision which marked his character, raised an army, and led it to Glasgow. The Duke, intimidated, and perhaps justly, instantly proposed a treaty, in which he engaged to submit to the authority of the King, as represented by the regency, and to relinquish the faculties with which Mary's lately granted commission had invested him; while Murray stipulated for the repeal of an act of attainder which had passed against some of the Queen's party; for the restoration to their dignities and estates of all who would submit to the government as then established; and for a convention, to be held at Edinburgh, to take into consideration the state of public affairs. Huntly and Argyll declined

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to take any part in this negotiation, and remained in arms in their respective countries, and at this precise period intelligence from France conveyed to Mary's party unexpected offers of aid. The Duke now hesitated, and at the appointed conference, which Murray opened by demanding his instant signature to the terms which had been agreed on, began to expostulate for the unhappy Queen, when the Regent, not even deigning an answer, arrested him on the spot, and sent him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, where he remained till the assassination of Murray, in the beginning of the following year, conferred a temporary authority on Mary's party, and procured his release.

Hopes were now entertained that an agreement might be wrought between the two factions with equal justice to the rights both of the Queen and her son. Their leaders met, but the congress was distinguished only by mutual obstinacy, and they separated but to issue proclamations proscribing each other. Their discord, immoderate enough in itself, was fomented by Elizabeth, who had an army at their doors, one of the first exploits of which was to plunder and burn the Duke's palace of Hamilton. Lenox, who had been for some time in London, whither he went, on the occasion of the inquiry into the conduct of Mary, to accuse her of the murder of his son, now returned, under the protection, and with the recommendation of Elizabeth, to assume the office of Regent, to which indeed he had, in more respects than one, a sort of natural claim. He was placed in that great office on the twelfth of July, 1570, and commenced his exercise of it by proclaiming the Duke, and other great leaders of the Queen's party, traitors, and enemies to their country. In a littleness of malice utterly unworthy of his high birth and office, and indeed of the reputation for good dispositions for which he had credit, he marched in person to Hamilton, at the head of three hundred horse, and, seizing the most precious remnants of the Duke's plate, and other moveables, which had been saved from the late devastation, sold them publicly at the Market

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Cross of Linlithgow. Early in the ensuing year, he brought the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had fallen into his hands by the surrender of Dunbarton Castle, in which he had taken refuge, to a nominal trial for high treason, in the issue of which he was, with scandalous partiality, condemned to be hanged.

The execution of this sentence, more especially as he was the first prelate who had ever suffered death in Scotland through a form of justice, enraged the dependents of his family almost to madness, and indeed offended the whole body of the people. The Queen's party took advantage of this disposition, and the Duke, with other noblemen who were staunch to her interest, took possession of the capital with an armed force, and on the twelfth of June, 1571, called a Parliament, in which her authority was implicitly recognised. Lenox, on the other hand, had his Parliament at Stirling, which denounced the Duke, and almost the whole house of Hamilton, as traitors, and declared their estates forfeited. Horrible disorders followed. The Queen's friends surprized Stirling, and Lenox fell in the tumult. The Earl of Mar, his successor, died about a year after his appointment; and the dark, ambitious, and treacherous Morton was at length elected to the Regency. Morton, the Duke's near relation by marriage, who was distinguished by a cold and calculating policy, wholly free from the influence of any passion, applied himself to the natural defects of the Duke's character, and the increasing infirmities of his age. Affecting to bury all causes of discord in oblivion, and to pay the most profound respect to his adversary's high birth, and honourable motives, he simply proposed a treaty, the terms of which comprehended every provision that the Duke himself could have devised for the security of his person and interests. It was eagerly accepted by him, and was ratified at Perth on the twenty-third of February, 1573, N. S. and on the twenty-second of January, in the following year, he expired at his Palace of Hamilton.

The Duke of Chatelherault married Margaret, eldest daughter

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of James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, by whom he had issue James, third Earl of Arran ; John, created Marquis of Hamilton ; David, who died childless ; Claud, ancestor of the Earls and Marquisses of Abercorn ; and four daughters ; Barbara, married to James Lord Fleming ; Margaret, to Alexander Lord Gordon, eldest son of George, fourth Earl of Huntly ; Anne, to George, fifth Earl of Huntly ; and Jane, to Hugh Montgomery, third Earl of Eglington.